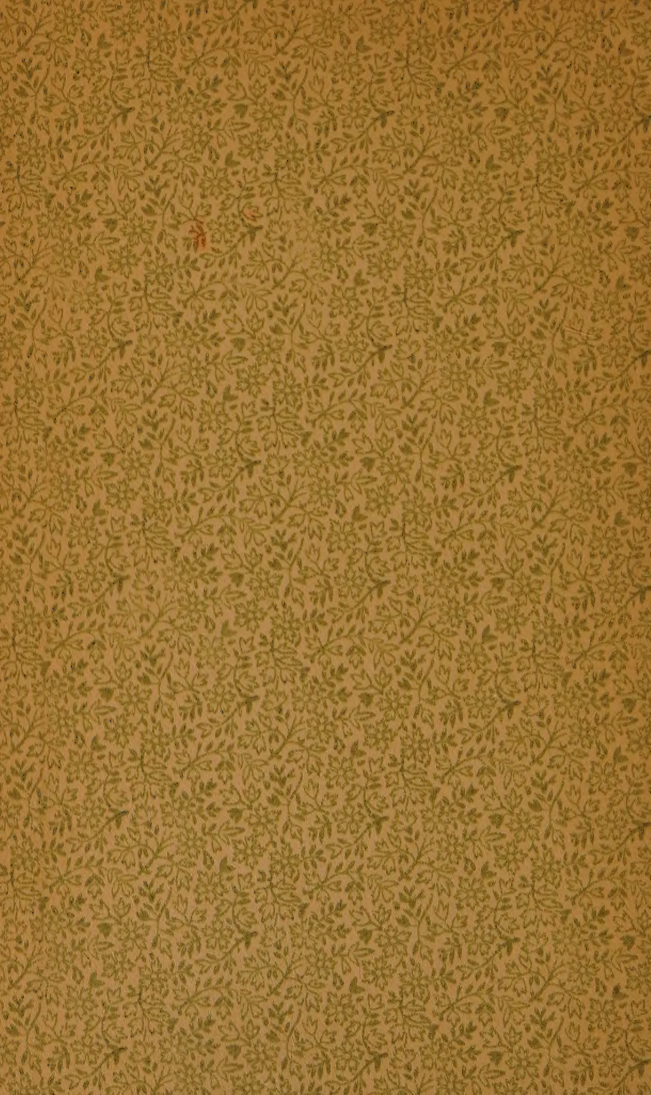


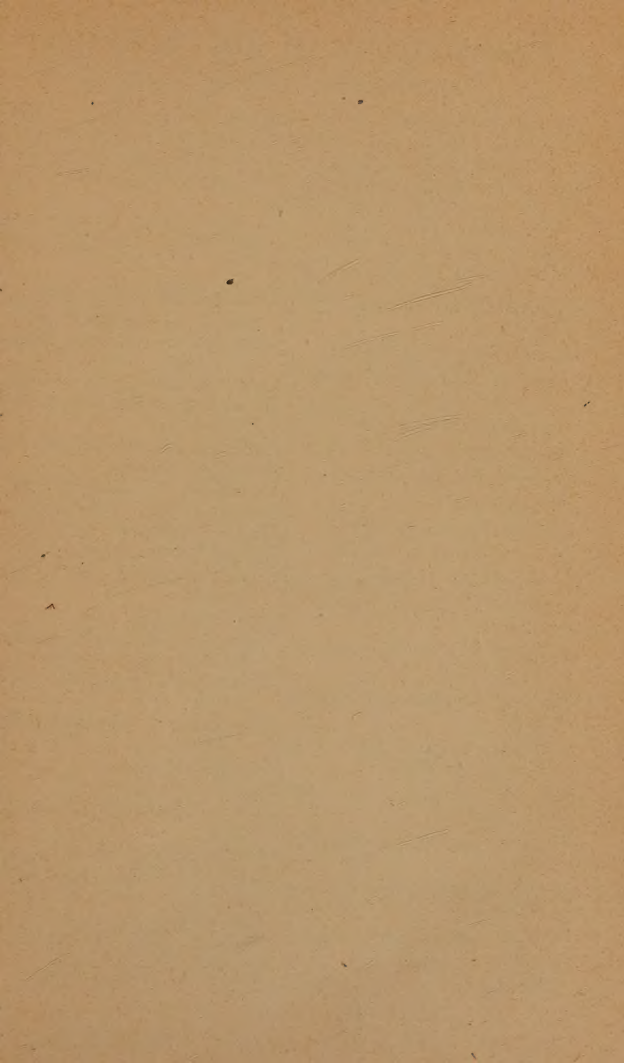
HERŌDOTUS

BOOKS VI AND VII









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HERODOTUS

BOOKS VI AND VII

A NEW AND LITERAL VERSION

BY

HENRY CARY, M.A.

WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

EDWARD BROOKS, JR.



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INTRODUCTION.

IN the following pages will be found a translation of two books of the writings of Herodotus. The work of which these books form a part has been called variously "A Universal History," "A History of the Struggle between Greece and Persia," and "A History of the Wars between the Greeks and the Barbarians." These titles, however, are all too comprehensive. No history of the times of which the author writes could be universal which omits a recital of the growth and development of Phœnicia, Etruria, and Carthage, three states of almost equal importance with Greece and Persia, and the histories of these states are by no means fully treated in this work. The struggle between the Greeks and Persians continued for thirty years or more after the battle of Mycale, and as the history of Herodotus ends with this battle, it is clear that a title which embraces the entire struggle between these two states is too large. Nor does it seem to have been the idea of the author to have written a history of the wars between the Greeks and the barbarians, as these are omitted from the

narrative, the Trojan War, the wars connected with the colonization of Asia Minor, and several other wars. It is probable that the author's intent was to write a history of one great war, namely, that which ensued in consequence of the invasion of the Persians, and perhaps the best title which could be given to this work is "A History of the War of Persian Invasion."

This "History" consists of nine books, each named after one of the nine Muses. The first six of these books, comprising two-thirds of the entire composition, are taken up with the previous history of the two warring nations, which comprises a magnificent introduction to the work. In tracing the growth of these great races, Herodotus touches upon the histories of Thrace, Lydia, Babylon, Egypt, and other countries, and tells of the various migrations of the Greeks, their legislation, their progress in arts, which gives to the work that universal character which has caused the work to be called by some a Universal History.

Critics have claimed that Herodotus lacked the most essential quality of a historian, namely, trustworthiness; that on account of his credulity and love of effect he has produced a work which is of small value from a historical point of view. It must be admitted that the work contains defects of this character, but these are usually found in those portions which treat of the remoter times, concerning which the author had to rely upon information furnished by others. Those portions of

his history which relate to the times and events which came under his immediate and personal observation are admitted to be accurate by even the most severe of his critics, and are relied upon by more modern historians as the basis of their writings.

Herodotus is by no means a critical historian. He does not possess a philosophical insight into the causes which underlie the political changes and events which he describes, nor does he by any subtle analysis detect the undercurrents which sway the great events of the development of nations, and by the power of generalization draw lessons from the past to the profit of the future. His great merit lies in the diligence with which he has collected his materials, the fairness of the judgment which he passes upon the characters he describes, the absence of undue national vanity, and in his graphic and vivid descriptions of persons and events.

Great writers all bear tribute to the greatness of Herodotus. Cicero calls his style "copious and polished." Dionysius places him above Thucydides, while Lucian longs to resemble him "if only in a single point; as for instance, the beauty of his language or his fulness of thought." More modern writers too have expressed their admiration for the historian, and agree that his style excels in "simplicity, freshness, naturalness, and harmony of rhythm."

Very little is known of the biography of "The Father of History," as Herodotus has been

called. With the exception of a few data incidentally supplied by himself, his biographers have had but little that is unquestionable upon which to base their writings. According to the best authorities he was born in Halicarnassus, a Dorian city in Asia Minor, in 484 B. C. His father was Lyxas, and his mother Dwyo, both descended from noble Halicarnassian families. Herodotus was thus born a Persian, and remained such until about thirty years of age. Becoming disgusted with the corrupt government of Lygdamis, who was the ruler of Halicarnassus, he withdrew to the island of Samos where he acquired the Ionic dialect, in which he subsequently composed his histories. Of his early education little can be said except that it was thoroughly Greek, and probably embraced the three essentials of a liberal education—grammar, gymnastics, and music. To obtain this it was not necessary, for him to leave his native city, and it is not thought that he enjoyed any special advantages of instruction.

The period of his travels seems to have been between the ages of twenty and thirty-six years. His visit to Susa and Babylon was most likely made in his early manhood as a Persian subject. His Egyptian travels were probably made at a later day, after he had withdrawn from Halicarnassus. On his return from Egypt he appears to have visited Syria, and Tyre, and Thrace.

After living for about seven years in Samos a revolt occurred in Halicarnassus, which resulted in

driving the tyrant Lygdamis from the throne, and that city became a voluntary member of the Athenian Confederacy. This revolt is ascribed by some to Herodotus himself. Whether this be true or not it is most probable that the historian returned to his native city when the cause which drove him from it no longer existed. There is reason to believe that he did not, however, remain there very long. His history, which was then partly composed, excited the ridicule, instead of the admiration, of his countrymen, and in consequence of this he withdrew to Athens. Here by public recitations he made his work known to some of the leading men of the city, and won such approval that he was voted by the people a sum of ten talents, which is equal to about twelve thousand dollars.

At this time Athenian citizenship was a status greatly to be desired, and one which was not to be obtained without great expense and difficulty. Herodotus having lost his citizenship in Halicarnassus, and realizing the difficulty of becoming a citizen of Athens, was, however, anxious to obtain such status elsewhere. Accordingly, in the year 443 B. C., he sailed from Athens for Thurii with others who embarked with the purpose of colonizing that new Italian town, and subsequently became a citizen of that place.

Very little else is known of the life of the great historian. It is supposed that he spent much of his time at Thurii, touching up his "History," and it is also possible that he wrote here a special his-

tory of Assyria. He seems to have made a journey to Crotona and another to Athens in 430 B. C. The date of his death is uncertain. Judging from the events which are related in his history, and certain promises which appear in his writings, but which are not fulfilled, it appears that he died between 430 and 424 B. C. It is most probable that he died at the age of about sixty at Thurii where his tomb was shown in later ages.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VI.

ERATO.

1. ARISTAGORAS, having induced the Ionians to revolt, thus died ; and Histiaëus, tyrant of Miletus, having been dismissed by Darius, repaired to Sardis. When he arrived from Susa, Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, asked him for what reason he supposed the Ionians had revolted. Histiaëus said he did not know and seemed surprised at what had happened, as if he in truth knew nothing of the present state of affairs. But Artaphernes, perceiving that he was dissembling, and being aware of the exact truth as to the revolt, said, "Histiaëus, the state of the case is this : you made the shoe, and Aristagoras has put it on."

2. Artaphernes spoke thus concerning the revolt ; but Histiaëus, fearing Artaphernes, as being privy to the truth, as soon as night came on, fled to the coast, having deceived king Darius ; for, having promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia, he insinuated himself into the command of the Ionians in the war against Darius. Having crossed over to Chios, he was put in chains by the Chians, being suspected by them of planning some new design against them in favor of Darius. However, the Chians, having learned the whole truth, and that he was an enemy to the king, released him.

3. At that time, Histiaëus being questioned by the

Ionians why he had so earnestly pressed Aristagoras to revolt from the king, and had wrought so much mischief to the Ionians, he by no means made known to them the true reason, but told them that "king Darius had resolved to remove the Phœnicians, and settle them in Ionia, and the Ionians in Phœnicia; and for this reason he had pressed him." Although the king had formed no resolution of the kind, he terrified the Ionians.

4. After this, Histiaëus, corresponding by means of a messenger, Hermippus, an Atarnian, sent letters to certain Persians in Sardis, as if they had before conferred with him on the subject of a revolt; but Hermippus did not deliver the letters to the persons to whom he had been sent, but put them into the hands of Artaphernes; he, having discovered all that was going on, commanded Hermippus to deliver the letters of Histiaëus to the persons for whom he brought them, and to deliver to him the answers that should be sent back to Histiaëus from the Persians. Thus they being discovered, Artaphernes thereupon put many of the Persians to death; and in consequence, there was a great commotion in Sardis.

5. Histiaëus being disappointed of these hopes, the Chians conveyed him to Miletus at his own request; but the Milesians, delighted at being rid of Aristagoras, were by no means desirous to receive another tyrant in their country, as they had tasted of freedom. Thereupon Histiaëus, going down to Miletus by night, endeavored to enter it by force, but was wounded in the thigh by one of the Milesians. When he was repulsed from his own country, he went back to Chios, and from thence, since he could not persuade the Chians to furnish him with ships, he crossed over to Mitylene, and prevailed with the Lesbians to furnish him with ships; and they, having manned eight triremes, sailed with Histiaëus to Byzantium. There taking up their station, they took all the ships that sailed out of the Pontus, except such of them as said they were ready to submit to Histiaëus.

6. Histiaëus, then, and the Mitylenians, acted as above

described ; but a large naval and land force was expected against Miletus itself ; for the Persian generals, having united their forces and formed one camp, marched against Miletus, deeming the other cities of less consequence. Of the maritime forces, the Phœnicians were the most zealous, and the Cyprians, who had been lately subdued, served with them, and the Cilicians and Egyptians.

7. They then advanced against Miletus and the rest of Ionia ; but the Ionians, having heard of this, sent their respective deputies to the Panionium,¹ and when they arrived at that place and consulted together, it was determined not to assemble any land forces to oppose the Persians, but that the Milesians themselves should defend the walls, and that they should man their navy, without leaving a single ship behind ; and after they had manned them, to assemble as soon as possible at Lade, to fight in defence of Miletus. Lade is a small island lying off the city of the Milesians.

8. After this, the Ionians came up with their ships manned, and with them the Æolians who inhabit Lesbos ; and they formed their line in the following order. The Milesians themselves, who furnished eighty ships, occupied the east wing ; and next to these the Prienians with twelve ships, and the Myusians with three ; the Teians were next to the Myusians, with seventeen ships ; the Chians were next the Teians, with a hundred ships ; next to these, the Erythræans and the Phocæans were drawn up, the Erythræans furnishing eight ships, and the Phocæans three ; next the Phocæans were the Lesbians with seventy ships ; last of all the Samians were drawn up, occupying the western wing with sixty ships. Of all these, the whole number amounted to three hundred and fifty-three triremes. Such was the fleet of the Ionians.

9. On the side of the barbarians the number of ships amounted to six hundred ; but when they arrived on the Milesian coast, and all their land forces were come up, the Persian generals, hearing the number of the

¹ See B. I. chap. 143, 148.

Ionian fleet, began to fear they should not be strong enough to overcome it, and so should be also unable to take Miletus, since they were not masters at sea, and then might be in danger of receiving punishment at the hands of Darius. Taking these things into consideration, they summoned the tyrants of the Ionians, who, having been deprived of their governments by Aristagoras, had fled to the Medes, and happened at that time to be serving in the army against Miletus; having called together such of these men as were at hand, they addressed them as follows: "Men of Ionia, let each of you now show his zeal for the king's house; for let each of you endeavor to detach his own countrymen from the rest of the confederacy, and hold out to them and proclaim this, that they shall suffer no hurt on account of their rebellion, nor shall their buildings, whether sacred or profane, be burned, nor shall they be treated with more severity than they were before. But if they will not do this, and will at all events come to the hazard of a battle, threaten them with this which will surely befall them; that when conquered in battle, they shall be enslaved; that we will make eunuchs of their sons, and transport their virgins to Bactra, and then give their country to others."

10. Thus they spoke; but the tyrants of the Ionians sent each by night to his own countrymen, to make known the warning. But the Ionians to whom these messages came continued firm to their purpose, and would not listen to treachery, for each thought that the Persians had sent this message to themselves only. This, then, took place immediately after the arrival of the Persians before Miletus.

11. Afterward, when the Ionians had assembled at Lade, councils were held, and on occasion others addressed them, and, among the rest, the Phocæan general Dionysius, who spoke as follows: "Our affairs are in a critical ¹ state, O Ionians, whether we shall be freemen or slaves, and that, too, as runaway slaves: now, then, if you are willing to undergo hardships, for the present

¹ Literally, "on a razor's edge."

you will have toil, but will be enabled, by overcoming your enemies, to be free; on the other hand, if you abandon yourselves to ease and disorder, I have no hope of you that you will escape punishment at the hands of the king for your revolt; but be persuaded by me, and intrust yourselves to my guidance, and I promise you, if the gods are impartial, either that our enemies will not fight us at all, or, if they do fight with us, they shall be completely beaten."

12. The Ionians, having heard this, intrusted themselves to the guidance of Dionysius; and he, daily leading out the ships into a line, when he had exercised the rowers by practising the manœuvre of cutting through ~~one~~ another's line, and had put the marines under arms, kept the ships at anchor for the rest of the day: thus he subjected the Ionians to toil throughout the day. Accordingly, for seven days they continued to obey, and did what was ordered, but on the following day the Ionians, unaccustomed to such toil, and worn down by hardships and the heat of the sun, spoke one to another as follows: "What deity having offended, do we fill up this measure of affliction? we who, being beside ourselves, and having lost our senses, have intrusted ourselves to the guidance of a presumptuous Phocæan, who has contributed three ships; but he, having got us under his control, afflicts us with intolerable hardships. Many of us have already fallen into distempers, and many must expect to meet with the same fate. Instead of these evils, it were better for us to suffer anything else, and to endure the impending servitude, be it what it may, than be oppressed by the present. Come, then, let us no longer obey him." Thus they spoke, and from that moment no one would obey, but having pitched tents on the island, they continued under the shade, and would not go on board the ships or perform their exercise.

13. The generals of the Samians, observing what was passing among the Ionians, and at the same time seeing great disorder among them, thereupon accepted the proposal of Æaces, son of Syloson, which he had before sent them at the desire of the Persians, exhorting them

to abandon the confederacy of the Ionians ; and, moreover, it was clearly impossible for them to overcome the power of the king, because they were convinced that if they should overcome Darius with his present fleet, another, five times as large, would come against them. Therefore, laying hold of this pretext, as soon as they saw the Ionians refusing to behave well, they deemed it for their own advantage to preserve their own buildings, sacred and profane. This *Æaces*, from whom the Samians received the proposal, was son of *Syloson*, son of *Æaces*, and, being tyrant of Samos, had been deprived of his government by *Aristagoras* the Milesian, as the other tyrants of Ionia.

14. When, therefore, the Phœnicians sailed against them, the Ionians also drew out their ships in line to oppose them ; but when they came near and engaged each other, after that I am unable to affirm with certainty who of the Ionians proved themselves cowards or brave men in this sea-fight, for they mutually accuse each other. The Samians, however, are said at that moment to have hoisted sail, in pursuance of their agreement with *Æaces*, and steered out of the line to Samos, with the exception of eleven ships : the captains of these stayed and fought, refusing to obey their commanders, and for this action the commonwealth of the Samians conferred upon them the honor of having their names and ancestry engraved on a column, as having proved themselves valiant men, and this column now stands in the forum. The Lesbians also, seeing those stationed next them flee, did the same as the Samians, and in like manner most of the Ionians followed their example.

15. Of those that persisted in the battle, the Chians were most roughly handled, as they displayed signal proofs of valor, and would not act as cowards. They contributed, as has been before mentioned, one hundred ships, and on board each of them, forty chosen citizens serving as marines ; and though they saw most of the confederates abandoning the common cause, they disdained to follow the example of their treachery ; but choosing rather to remain with the few allies, they

continued the fight, cutting through the enemies' lines, until, after they had taken many of the enemies' ships, they lost most of their own. The Chians then fled to their own country with the remainder of their fleet.

16. Those Chians whose ships were disabled in the fight, when they were pursued, took refuge in Mycale; and having run their ships aground, left them there, and marched overland through the continent; but when the Chians, on their return, entered the territory of Ephesus, and arrived near the city by night, at a time when the women there were celebrating the Thesmophoria, the Ephesians, thereupon, not having before heard how it had fared with the Chians, and seeing an army enter their territory, thinking they were certainly robbers, and were come to seize their women, rushed out in a body, and slew the Chians. Such was the fate they met with.

17. Dionysius the Phocæan, when he perceived that the affairs of the Ionians were utterly ruined, having taken three of the enemies' ships, sailed away, not indeed to Phocæa, well knowing that it would be enslaved with the rest of Ionia, but sailed directly, as he was, to Phœnicia; and there having disabled some merchantmen, and obtained great wealth, he sailed to Sicily; and sallying out from thence, he established himself as a pirate, *attacking* none of the Grecians, but only the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians.

18. The Persians, when they had conquered the Ionians in the sea-fight, besieging Miletus both by land and sea, and undermining the walls, and bringing up all kinds of military engines against it, took it completely, in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras; and they reduced the city to slavery, so that the event coincided with the oracle delivered concerning Miletus.

19. For when the Argives consulted the oracle at Delphi respecting the preservation of their city, a double answer was given; part concerning themselves, and the addition *the Pythian* uttered concerning the Milesians. The part relating to the Argives I will mention when I come to that part of the history; ¹ the words she uttered

¹ See chap. 77.

relative to the Milesians, who were not present, were as follows: "Then Miletus, contriver of wicked deeds, thou shalt become a feast and a rich gift to many: thy wives shall wash the feet of many long-haired masters, and our temple at Didymi shall be tended by others." These things befell the Milesians at that time; for most of the men were killed by the Persians, who wear long hair; and their women and children were treated as slaves; and the sacred inclosure at Didymi, both the temple and the shrine, were pillaged and burned. Of the riches in this temple I have frequently made mention in other parts of my history.¹

20. Such of the Milesians as were taken alive were afterward conveyed to Susa; and king Darius, without having done them any other harm, settled them on that which is called the Red Sea, in the city of Ampe, near which the Tigris, flowing by, falls into the sea. Of the Milesian territory, the Persians themselves retained the parts round the city and the plain; the mountainous parts they gave to the Carians of Pedasus to occupy.

21. When the Milesians suffered thus at the hands of the Persians, the Sybarites, who inhabited Laos and Scydrus, having been deprived of their country, did not show equal sympathy; for when Sybaris² was taken by the Crotonians, all the Milesians of every age shaved their heads and displayed marks of deep mourning; for these two cities had been more strictly united in friendship than any others we are acquainted with. The Athenians behaved in a very different manner; for the Athenians made it evident that they were excessively grieved at the capture of Miletus, both in many other ways, and more particularly when Phrynichus had composed a drama of the capture of Miletus, and represented it, the whole theatre burst into tears, and fined him a thousand drachms for renewing the memory of their domestic misfortunes; and they gave order that thenceforth no one should act this drama.

22. Miletus, therefore, was stripped of its Milesian population. But the Samians who had property were

¹ See B. I. 92, II. 159, and V. 36.

² See Book V. chap. 44.

by no means pleased with what had been done by their generals in favor of the Medes, and determined, on a consultation immediately after the sea-fight, to sail away to a colony, before the tyrant Æaces should arrive in their country, and not, by remaining, become slaves to the Medes and Æaces; for the Zancleans of Sicily, at this very time sending messengers to Ionia, invited the Ionians to Cale Acte, wishing them to found a city of Ionians there. This Cale Acte, as it is called, belongs to the Sicilians, and is in that part of Sicily that faces the Tyrrhenians. Accordingly, when they invited them, the Samians alone of all the Ionians set out, and with them such Milesians as had escaped by flight.

23. During this time, the following incident occurred. The Samians, on their way to Sicily, touched on the country of the Epizephyrian Locrians, and the Zancleans, both they and their king, whose name was Scythes, were employed in the besieging of a Sicilian city, desiring to take it; and Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, who was then at variance with the Zancleans, understanding this, held correspondence with the Samians, and persuaded them that it would be well not to trouble themselves about Cale Acte, to which they were sailing, but to seize the city of Zancle, which was destitute of inhabitants. The Samians were persuaded, and possessed themselves of Zancle, whereupon the Zancleans, hearing that their city was occupied, went to recover it, and called to their assistance Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, for he was their ally. But when Hippocrates came with his army, as if to assist them, he having thrown into chains Scythes, king of the Zancleans, who had already lost his city, and his brother Pythogenes, sent them away to the city of Iny-cum. After having conferred with the Samians, and given and received oaths, he betrayed the rest of the Zancleans; and this was the reward agreed upon by the Samians, that he should have one half of the movables and slaves in the city, and that Hippocrates should have for his share all that was in the country. Accordingly, having put in chains the greater part of the Zancleans, he treated them as slaves; and three hundred

of the principal citizens he delivered to the Samians to be put to death. The Samians, however, would not do this.

24. Scythes, king of the Zancleæans, made his escape from Inycum to Himera, and from thence passed over into Asia, and went up to king Darius. Darius considered him the most just of all the men who had come up to him from Greece; for, having asked permission of the king, he went to Sicily, and returned back from Sicily to the king, and at last, being very rich, died among the Persians of old age. Thus the Samians, being freed from the Medes, gained without toil the very beautiful city of Zancle.

25. After the sea-fight which took place off Miletus, the Phœnicians, by order of the Persians, conveyed Æaces, son of Syloson, to Samos, as one who had deserved much at their hands, and had performed great services. The Samians were the only people of those that revolted from Darius whose city and sacred buildings were not burned on account of the defection of their ships in the sea-fight. Miletus being taken, the Persians immediately got possession of Caria; some of the cities having submitted of their own accord, and others they reduced by force. Now these things happened thus.

26. While Histiaeus the Milesian was near Byzantium, intercepting the trading ships of the Ionians that sailed out of the Pontus, news was brought him of what had taken place at Miletus. He therefore intrusted his affairs on the Hellespont to Bisaltes, son of Apollophanes of Abydos, and he himself, having taken the Lesbians with him, sailed to Chios, and engaged with a garrison of Chians, that would not admit him, at a place called Coeli in the Chian territory; and he killed great numbers of them; and the rest of the Chians, as they had been much shattered by the sea-fight, Histiaeus, with the Lesbians, got the mastery of, setting out from Polichne of the Chians.

27. The deity is wont to give some previous warning when any great calamities are about to befall any city or nation, and before these misfortunes great warnings

happened to the Chians; for, in the first place, when they sent to Delphi a band of one hundred youths, two of them only returned home, but the remaining ninety-eight a pestilence seized and carried off; in the next place, about the same time, a little before the sea-fight, a house in the city fell in upon some boys as they were learning to read, so that of one hundred and twenty boys one only escaped. These warnings the deity showed them beforehand. After this, the sea-fight following, threw the city prostrate; and after the sea-fight, Histæus with the Lesbians came upon them; and as the Chians had been much shattered, he easily reduced them to subjection.

28. From thence Histæus proceeded to attack Thasus with a large body of Ionians and Æolians; and while he was besieging Thasus, news came that the Phoenicians were sailing from Miletus against the rest of Ionia. When he heard this, he left Thasus untaken, and himself hastened to Lesbos with all his forces; and from Lesbos, because his army was suffering from want, he crossed to the opposite shore for the purpose of reaping the corn of Atarneus, and the plain of Caicus, which belonged to the Mysians. But Harpagus, a Persian, general of a considerable army, happened to be in those parts; he engaged with him after his landing, took Histæus himself prisoner, and destroyed the greater part of his army.

29. Histæus was thus taken prisoner. When the Greeks were fighting with the Persians at Malene, in the district of Atarneus, they maintained their ground for a long time, but the cavalry at length coming up, fell upon the Greeks; then it was the work of the cavalry; and when the Greeks had betaken themselves to flight, Histæus, hoping that he should not be put to death by the king for his present offence, conceived such a desire of preserving his life, that when in his flight he was overtaken by a Persian, and being overtaken was on the point of being stabbed by him, he, speaking in the Persian language, discovered himself to be Histæus the Milesian.

30. Now if, when he was taken prisoner, he had been

conducted to king Darius, in my opinion he would have suffered no punishment, and the king would have forgiven him his fault; but now, for this very reason, and lest, by escaping, he should again regain his influence with the king, Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who received him as soon as he was conducted to Sardis, impaled his body on the spot, and having embalmed the head, sent it to Darius at Susa. Darius having heard of this, and having blamed those that had done it because they had not brought him alive into his presence, gave orders that, having washed and adorned the head of Histiaëus, they should inter it honorably, as the remains of a man who had been a great benefactor to himself and the Persians. Such was the fate of Histiaëus.

31. The naval force of the Persians having wintered near Miletus, when it set sail in the second year, easily subdued the islands lying near the continent, Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos; and when they took any one of these islands, the barbarians, as they possessed themselves of each, netted the inhabitants. They netted them in this manner. Taking one another by the hand, they extend from the northern to the southern sea, and so march over the island, hunting out the inhabitants. They also took the Ionian cities on the continent with the same ease; but they did not net the inhabitants, for that was impossible.

32. Then the Persian generals did not belie the threats which they had uttered against the Ionians when arrayed against them; for when they had made themselves masters of the cities, they selected the handsomest youths, and castrated them, and made them eunuchs instead of men, and the most beautiful virgins they carried away to the king; this they did, and burned the cities with the very temples. Thus the Ionians were for the third time reduced to slavery; first by the Lydians, then twice successively by the Persians.

33. The naval force, departing from Ionia, reduced all the places on the left of the Hellespont as one sails in; for the places on the right, being on the continent, had already been subdued by the Persians. The follow-

ing places on the Hellespont are in Europe: the Chersonese, in which are many cities, Perinthus, and the fortified towns toward Thrace, and Selybrie, and Byzantium. The Byzantians, however, and the Chalcedonians on the opposite side, did not wait the coming of the Phœnician fleet, but, having abandoned their country, went inward to the Euxine, and there founded the city of Mesambria; but the Phœnicians, having burned down the cities above mentioned, bent their course to Proconnesus, and Artace, and having devoted these also to flames, sailed back again to the Chersonese for the purpose of destroying the rest of the cities, which, when they passed near them before, they had not laid waste. Against Cyzicus they did not sail at all, for the Cyzicenians had of their own accord submitted to the king before the arrival of the Phœnicians, having capitulated with Cēbares, son of Megabazus, governor of Dascylium. All the other cities of the Chersonese, except Cardia, the Phœnicians subdued.

34. Till that time Miltiades, son of Cimon, son of Stesagoras, was tyrant of these cities, Miltiades, son of Cypselus, having formerly acquired this government in the following manner. The Thracian Dolonci possessed this Chersonese; these Dolonci, then, being pressed in war by the Apsynthians, sent their kings to Delphi to consult the oracle concerning the war; the Pythian answered them "that they should take that man with them to their country to found a colony who, after their departure from the temple, should first offer them hospitality." Accordingly, the Dolonci, going by the sacred way, went through *the territories of* the Phocians and Bœotians, and when no one invited them, turned out of the road toward Athens.

35. At that time Pisistratus had the supreme power at Athens; but Miltiades, son of Cypselus, had considerable influence. He was of a family that maintained horses for the chariot-races, and was originally descended from Æacus and Ægina, but in later times was an Athenian, Philæus, son of Ajax, having been the first Athenian of that family. This Miltiades, being seated in his own portico, and seeing the Dolonci pass-

ing by, wearing a dress not belonging to the country, and *carrying* javelins, called out to them; and upon their coming to him, he offered them shelter and hospitality. They having accepted his invitation, and having been entertained by him, made known to him the whole oracle, and entreated him to obey the deity. Their words persuaded Miltiades as soon as he heard them, for he was troubled with the government of Pisistratus, and desired to get out of his way. He therefore immediately set out to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether he should do that which the Dolonci requested of him.

36. The Pythian having bid him do so, thereupon Miltiades, son of Cypselus, who had formerly won the Olympic prize in the chariot-race, taking with him all such Athenians as were willing to join in the expedition, set sail with the Dolonci, and took possession of the country; and they who introduced him appointed him tyrant. He, first of all, built a wall on the isthmus of the Chersonese, from the city of Cardia to Pactya, in order that the Apsynthians might not be able to injure them by making incursions into their country. The width of this isthmus is thirty-six stades; and from this isthmus, the whole Chersonese inward is four hundred and twenty stades in length.

37. Miltiades, then, having built a wall across the neck of the Chersonese, and by that means repelled the Apsynthians, next made war upon the Lampsacenians; and the Lampsacenians, having laid an ambush, took him prisoner. But Miltiades was well known to Croesus; Croesus therefore, having heard of this event, sent and commanded the Lampsacenians to release Miltiades; if not, he threatened that he would destroy them like a pine-tree. The Lampsacenians, being in uncertainty in their interpretations as to what was the meaning of the saying with which Croesus threatened them that he would destroy them like a pine-tree, at length, with some difficulty, one of the elders, having discovered it, told the real truth, that the pine alone of all trees, when cut down, does not send forth any more shoots, but perishes entirely;

whereupon the Lampsacenians, dreading the power of Croesus, set Miltiades at liberty.

38. He accordingly escaped by means of Croesus, and afterward died childless, having bequeathed the government and his property to Stesagoras, son of Cimon, his brother by the same mother; and when he was dead, the Chersonesians sacrificed to him, as is usual to a founder, and instituted equestrian and gymnastic exercises, in which no Lampsacenian is permitted to contend. The war with the Lampsacenians still continuing, it also befell Stesagoras to die childless, being stricken on the head with an axe in the prytaneum by a man who in pretence was a deserter, but was in fact an enemy, and that a very vehement one.

39. Stesagoras having died in that manner, the Pisistratidæ thereupon sent Miltiades, son of Cimon, and brother of Stesagoras who had died, with one ship to the Chersonese, to assume the government; they had also treated him with kindness at Athens, as if they had not been parties to the death of his father Cimon, the particulars of which I will relate in another place.¹ Miltiades, having arrived in the Chersonese, kept himself at home under color of honoring the memory of his brother Stesagoras; but the Chersonesians having heard of this, the principal persons of all the cities assembled together from every quarter, and having come in a body with the intention of condoling with him, were all thrown into chains by him. Thus Miltiades got possession of the Chersonese, maintaining five hundred auxiliaries, and married Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus, king of the Thracians.

40. This Miltiades, son of Cimon, had lately arrived in the Chersonese; and, after his arrival, other difficulties, greater than the present,² befell him; for in the third year before these things, he fled from the Scythians; for the Scythian nomades, having been provoked by king Darius, had assembled their forces, and marched as far as this Chersonese: Miltiades, not daring to

¹ See chap. 103.

² By the present difficulties are meant those which Herodotus had begun to relate in chapter 33 of this Book.

wait their approach, fled from the Chersonese, until the Scythians departed, and the Dolonci brought him back again. These things happened in the third year before the present affairs.

41. Miltiades, having heard that the Phœnicians were at Tenedos, loaded five triremes with the property he had at hand, and sailed away for Athens; and when he had set out from the city of Cardia, he sailed through the gulf of Melas, and as he was passing by the Chersonese, the Phœnicians fell in with his ships. Now Miltiades himself escaped with four of the ships to Imbrus; but the fifth the Phœnicians pursued and took: of this ship, Metiochus, the eldest of the sons of Miltiades, not by the daughter of Olorus the Thracian, but by another woman, happened to be commander, and him the Phœnicians took, together with the ship. When they heard that he was son of Miltiades, they took him up to the king, thinking that they should obtain great favor for themselves, because Miltiades had given an opinion to the Ionians advising them to comply with the Scythians when the Scythians requested them to loose the bridge and return to their own country; but Darius, when the Phœnicians had taken Metiochus, son of Miltiades, up to him, did him no injury, but many favors; for he gave him a house and estate, and a Persian wife, by whom he had children, who were reckoned among the Persians. But Miltiades arrived at Athens from Imbros.

42. During this year nothing more was done by the Persians relative to the war with the Ionians; on the contrary, the following things were done in this year which were advantageous to the Ionians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, having sent for deputies from the cities, compelled the Ionians to enter into engagements among themselves that they would submit to legal decisions, and not commit depredations one upon another. This he compelled them to do; and having measured their lands by parasangs, which name the Persians give to thirty stades—having measured them into these, he imposed tributes on each, which have continued the same from that time to the present, as they were im-

posed by Artaphernes ; and they were imposed nearly at the same amount as they had been before. These things, then, tended to peace.

43. In the beginning of the spring, the other generals having been dismissed by the king, Mardonius, son of Gobryas, went down to the coast taking with him a very large land army, and a numerous naval force : he was young in years, and had lately married king Darius's daughter Artazostra. Mardonius, leading this army, when he arrived in Cilicia, having gone in person on board ship, proceeded with the rest of the fleet, but the other generals led the land army to the Hellespont. When Mardonius, sailing by Asia, reached Ionia, there *he did a thing*, which, when I mention it, will be a matter of very great astonishment to those Grecians who cannot believe that Otanes, one of the seven Persians, gave an opinion that it was right for the Persians to be governed by a democracy ; for Mardonius, having deposed the tyrants of the Ionians, established democracies in the cities. Having done this, he hastened to the Hellespont. And when a vast body of ships and a numerous land army was assembled, having crossed the Hellespont in ships, they marched through Europe, and directed their march against Eretria and Athens.

44. These cities, indeed, were the pretext of the expedition ; but purposing to subdue as many Grecian cities as they could, in the first place they reduced the Thasians with their fleet, who did not even raise a hand to resist them ; and in the next place, with their land forces they enslaved the Macedonians, in addition to those that were before subject to them ; for all the nations on this side the Macedonians were already under their power. Then, crossing over from Thasus, they coasted along the continent as far as Acanthus ; and proceeding from Acanthus, they endeavored to double Mount Athos, but a violent and irresistible north wind falling upon them as they were sailing round, very roughly dealt with a great number of the ships by driving them against Athos ; for it is said that as many as three hundred ships were destroyed, and upward of twenty thousand men ; for, as this sea around Athos

abounds in monsters, some of them were seized and destroyed by these monsters ; and others were dashed against the rocks, others knew not how to swim and so perished, and others from cold. Such, then, was the fate of the naval force.

45. Mardonius and the land forces, while encamped in Macedonia, the Thracian Brygi attacked in the night ; and the Brygi slew many of them, and wounded Mardonius himself. Nevertheless, even they did not escape slavery at the hands of the Persians ; for Mardonius did not quit those parts before he had reduced them to subjection. However, having subdued them, he led his army back again, having suffered a disaster with his land forces from the Brygi, and with his navy a greater one near Athos. Accordingly, this armament, having met with such disgraceful reverses, retreated into Asia.

46. In the second year after these events, the Thasians having been accused by their neighbors of designing a revolt, Darius sent a messenger and commanded them to demolish their walls, and to transport their ships to Abdera ; for the Thasians, having been besieged by Histæus the Milesian, and having large revenues, applied their wealth in building ships of war, and fortifying their city with a stronger wall. Their revenues arose both from the continent and from their mines. From the gold mines of Scapte-Hyle proceeded in all eighty talents yearly, and from those in Thasus less indeed than that amount, yet so much that, as they were exempt from taxes on the produce of the soil, there came in to the Thasians in all, from the continent and the mines, a revenue of two hundred talents yearly ; and when the greatest quantity came in, three hundred talents.

47. I myself have seen these mines ; and by far the most wonderful of them are those which the Phœnicians discovered, who with Thasus colonized this island, which on that occasion took its name from this Thasus the Phœnician. These Phœnician mines are in that part of Thasus between a place called Ænyra and Cœnyra, opposite Samothrace : a large mountain has

been thrown upside down in the search. This, then, is of such a description. The Thasians, in obedience to the king, both demolished their walls, and transported all their ships to Abdera.

48. After this, Darius made trial of what were the intentions of the Greeks, whether to make war with him, or to deliver themselves up. He therefore despatched heralds, appointing different persons to go to different parts throughout Greece, with orders to demand earth and water for the king. These, accordingly, he sent to Greece, and despatched other heralds to the tributary cities on the coast, with orders to build ships of war and transports for horses.

49. They then set about preparing these things ; and to the heralds who came to Greece many of the inhabitants of the continent gave what the Persian demanded, as did all the islanders to whom they came and made the demand. Indeed, the other islanders gave earth and water to Darius, and, moreover, the Æginetæ ; but when they had done so, the Athenians forthwith threatened them, thinking that the Æginetæ had given *earth and water* out of ill will toward themselves, in order that they might make war on them in conjunction with the Persian ; they therefore gladly laid hold of the pretext, and going to Sparta, accused the Æginetæ of what they had done, as betraying Greece.

50. On this accusation, Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, who was then king of the Spartans, crossed over to Ægina, intending to seize the most culpable of the Æginetæ ; but when he attempted to seize them, others of the Æginetæ opposed him, and among them especially Crius, son of Polycritus, who said " that he should not carry off any one of the Æginetæ with impunity ; for that he was acting as he did without the consent of the commonwealth of the Spartans, being persuaded by bribes from the Athenians ; and that if it had not been so, he would have come with the other king to seize them." He said this in consequence of a message from Demaratus. But Cleomenes, being driven from Ægina, asked Crius what his name was ; and he told him the truth ; whereupon Cleomenes said to him,

“Now then tip your horns with brass, O Crius,¹ as you will have to contend with great misfortunes.”

51. Meanwhile Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was likewise king of the Spartans, but of an inferior family, remaining in Sparta, aspersed the conduct of Cleomenes: he was in no other respect inferior, for they were sprung from the same origin, but somehow the family of Eurysthenes was more honored on account of seniority.

52. For the Lacedæmonians, agreeing with none of the poets, affirm that Aristodemus himself, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus, son of Hyllus, being king, brought them to the country which they now inhabit, and not the sons of Aristodemus; and that after no long time Aristodemus's wife, whose name was Argia, brought forth: they say that she was daughter of Autesion, son of Tisamenes, son of Thersander, son of Polynices; and that she brought twins; and that Aristodemus, having looked on the children, died of disease: that the Lacedæmonians of that day resolved, according to custom, to make the eldest of the children king; but they knew not which to choose, since they were alike, and of equal size. Being unable to determine, they then, or perhaps before, asked the mother; she replied “that she herself was unable to distinguish:” she said this, although she knew very well, but was desirous, if it were possible, that both should be made kings. That the Lacedæmonians were consequently in doubt, and being in doubt, sent to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle what they should do in the matter. *They add* that the Pythian bade them consider both the children as kings, but to honor the eldest most. This answer the Pythian gave them; but the Lacedæmonians, being still in doubt how they should discover the eldest of them, a Messenian, whose name was Panites, made a suggestion to them. This Panites made the following suggestion to the Lacedæmonians, to observe which of the two children the mother would wash and feed first; and if she should be found constantly doing

¹ Crius signifies “a ram.”

the same, they would then have all they were seeking for and desired to know ; but if she should vary, attending to them interchangeably, it would be evident to them that she knew no more than they did ; and then they must have recourse to some other expedient. Thereupon the Spartans, in pursuance of the suggestion of the Messenian, having watched the mother of Aristodemus's children, discovered that she constantly gave one the preference both in feeding and washing, she not knowing why she was watched. Therefore, considering that the child which was honored by its mother was the eldest, they educated it in the palace ; and to him the name of Eurysthenes was given, and to the younger, Procles. They say that both these, though brothers, when they had reached manhood, were at variance with each other throughout the whole course of their lives, and that their descendants continued to be so.

53. The Lacedæmonians alone of the Grecians, give this account ; but I now describe these things in the way they are told by the rest of the Grecians ; for they say that these kings of the Dorians up to Perseus, son of Danae, the deity being omitted, are rightly enumerated by the Greeks, and are proved to have been Greeks ; for even at that time they were ranked among the Greeks. I have said up to Perseus for this reason, and have not carried it any higher, because no surname of any mortal father, is attributed to Perseus, as Amphitryon to Hercules. I have, therefore, with good reason, and correctly, said up to Perseus ; but if we reckon their progenitors upward from Danae, daughter of Acrisius, the leaders of the Dorians will prove to have been originally Egyptians. Such is the genealogy according to the account of the Greeks.

54. But as the account of the Persians is given, Perseus himself, being an Assyrian, became a Greek, though the ancestors of Perseus had not been so ; but that the progenitors of Acrisius, being in no way related to Perseus, were Egyptians, as the Greeks also say.

55. Let this, then, suffice for this subject. But why, being Egyptians, and by what exploits, they obtained

the sovereignty of the Dorians, I will omit to mention, as others have spoken of these matters. But such particulars as others have not taken in hand, of these I will make mention.

56. The Spartans have given the following privileges to their kings: two priesthoods, that of the Lacedæmonian Jupiter, and that of the Celestial Jupiter; and to levy war against whatever country they please; and no one of the Spartans may impede this, otherwise he falls under a curse. When they march out to war, the kings go first, and retire last; and a hundred chosen men guard them in the field. During the expeditions, they sacrifice as many cattle as they please, and take as their own share the skins and chins of all the victims. These are their privileges in time of war.

57. The others, those during peace, have been given them as follows. If any one make a public sacrifice, the kings sit first at the feast, and are first served, each receiving double of whatever is given to the other guests. They have the right of beginning the libations, and are entitled to the skins of the cattle that are sacrificed. At every new moon, and on the seventh day of the current month, a perfect victim is presented to each of them, at the public charge, for the temple of Apollo; and a medimnus of meal, and a Laconian quart of wine. At all public games they have seats appointed by way of distinction; and it is their prerogative to appoint such citizens as they please to be Proxeni;¹ and also to choose each two Pythii. The Pythii are persons who are sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and are maintained with the kings at the public charge. When the kings do not come to the banquet, two choenices of flour and a cotyle of wine are sent home to each of them; but when they are present, a double portion of everything is given them; and when invited to a banquet by private persons, they are honored in the same manner. They have the keeping of the oracles that are pronounced, but the Pythii are also privy to them. The kings alone have to determine the following matters

¹ Officers appointed to receive and entertain foreign ambassadors.

only : with respect to a virgin heiress, who is to marry her, if her father has not betrothed her ; and with respect to the public highways ; and if any one desires to adopt a son, it must be done in presence of the kings. They assist at the deliberations of the senators, who are twenty-eight in number ; and if they do not attend, those of the senators who are most nearly connected with them enjoy the privileges of the kings, giving two votes, and a third, their own.

58. These privileges are given to the kings by the commonwealth of the Spartans during life ; and when they die, the following. Horsemen announce through all Laconia what has happened ; and women, going through the city, beat a caldron ; when this accordingly is done, it is necessary for two free people of each house, a man and a woman, to make themselves squalid in token of grief ; and if they neglect to do so, heavy fines are imposed on them. The Lacedæmonians have the same custom with regard to the deaths of their kings as the barbarians in Asia ; for most of the barbarians observe the same custom with respect to the deaths of their kings ; for when a king of the Lacedæmonians dies, it is required that from the whole territory of Lacedæmon, besides the Spartans, a certain number of the neighboring inhabitants should of necessity attend the funeral : when accordingly many thousands of these, and of the Helots and of the Spartans themselves, have assembled together in one place, they promiscuously with the women strike their foreheads vehemently, and give themselves up to unbounded lamentation, affirming that the king who died last was the best they ever had. Should one of their kings die in war, having prepared his effigy, they expose it to public view on a couch richly ornamented ; and when they have buried him, no assembly takes place for ten days, nor is a meeting held for the election of magistrates, but they mourn during those days.

59. They also resemble the Persians in this other respect ; when, on the death of a king, another king is appointed, he, on his accession, releases whatever debts may be due from any Spartan to the king or the public ;

and so among the Persians, a newly-appointed king remits to all the cities the arrears of tribute then due.

60. In this respect also the Lacedæmonians resemble the Egyptians: their heralds, musicians, and cooks succeed to their fathers' professions; so that a musician is son of a musician, a cook of a cook, and a herald of a herald; nor do others, on account of the clearness of their voice, apply themselves *to this profession* and exclude others; but they continue to practice it after their fathers. These things, then, are so.

61. At that time, therefore, while Cleomenes was at Ægina, and co-operating for the common good of Greece, Demaratus accused him; not so much caring for the Æginetæ, as moved by envy and hatred. But Cleomenes, having returned from Ægina, formed a plan to deprive Demaratus of the sovereignty, getting a handle against him by means of the following circumstance. When Ariston reigned in Sparta, and had married two wives, he had no children; and as he did not acknowledge himself to be the cause of this, he married a third wife; and he married her in this manner. He had a friend who was a Spartan, to whom he was more attached than to any other of the citizens. The wife of this man happened to be by far the most beautiful of all the women in Sparta, and this, moreover, having become the most beautiful from being the most ugly; for her nurse, perceiving that she was misshapen, and knowing her to be the daughter of opulent persons, and deformed, and seeing, moreover, that her parents considered her form a great misfortune, considering these several circumstances, devised the following plan. She carried her every day to the temple of Helen, which is in the place called Therapne, above the temple of Phœbus. When the nurse brought the child there, she stood before the image, and entreated the goddess to free the child from its deformity. And it is related that one day, as the nurse was going out of the temple, a woman appeared to her, and having appeared, asked what she was carrying in her arms; and she answered that she was carrying an infant; whereupon she bid

her show it to her, but the nurse refused, for she had been forbidden by the parents to show the child to any one. The woman, however, urged her by all means to show it to her, and the nurse, seeing that the woman was so very anxious to see the child, at length showed it: upon which she, stroking the head of the child with her hands, said that she would surpass all the women in Sparta in beauty; and from that day her appearance began to change. When she reached the age for marriage, Agetus, son of Alcides, married her; this, then, was the friend of Ariston.

62. Now love for this woman excited Ariston; he, therefore, had recourse to the following stratagem. He promised he would give his friend, whose wife this woman was, a present of any one thing he should choose out of all his possessions, and required his friend in return to do the like to him. He, having no apprehension on account of his wife, seeing that Ariston already had a wife, assented to the proposal; and they imposed oaths on each other on these terms. Accordingly, Ariston himself gave the thing, whatever it was, which Agetus chose out of all his treasures; and himself claiming to obtain the same compliance from him, thereupon attempted to carry off his wife with him. Agetus said that he had assented to anything but this only; nevertheless, being compelled by his oath, and circumvented by deceit, he suffered him to take her away with him.

63. Thus, then, Ariston took to himself a third wife, having put away the second. But in too short a time, and before she had completed her ten months, this woman bore Demaratus; and as he was sitting on the bench with the Ephori, one of his servants announced to him that a son was born to him; but he, knowing the time at which he married the woman, and reckoning the months on his fingers, said with an oath, "It cannot be mine." This the Ephori heard. However, at the time, they took no notice. The child grew up, and Ariston repented of what he had said, for he was fully persuaded that Demaratus was his son. He gave him the name of Demaratus for this reason: before this the Spartans had made public supplications that Ariston, whom they

esteemed the most illustrious of all the kings that had ever reigned in Sparta, might have a son. For this reason the name of Demaratus¹ was given to him.

64. In process of time Ariston died, and Demaratus obtained the sovereignty. But it was fated, as it appears, that these things, when made known, should occasion the deposition of Demaratus from the sovereignty, for Demaratus had incurred the hatred of Cleomenes, because he had before led away the army from Eleusis,² and now more particularly when Cleomenes had crossed over against those Æginetæ who were inclined to Medism.

65. Cleomenes, then, being eager to avenge himself, made a compact with Leutychides, son of Menares, son of Agis, who was of the same family with Demaratus, on condition, that if he should make him king instead of Demaratus, he should accompany him against the Æginetæ. Leutychides had become an enemy to Demaratus chiefly for this reason. When Leutychides was affianced to Percalus, daughter of Chilon, son of Demarmenes, Demaratus, having plotted against him, disappointed Leutychides of his marriage, having himself anticipated him by seizing Percalus and retaining her as his wife. In this manner the enmity of Leutychides to Demaratus originated, and now, at the instigation of Cleomenes, Leutychides made oath against Demaratus, affirming "that he did not legitimately reign over the Spartans, not being the son of Ariston;" and after making oath against him, he prosecuted him, recalling the words which Ariston spoke, when the servant announced that a son was born to him; whereupon he, reckoning the months, denied with an oath, saying "that it was not his." Leutychides, insisting on this declaration, maintained that Demaratus was neither the son of Ariston, nor rightful king of Sparta; and he adduced as witnesses those Ephori who were then sitting by the king, and heard these words of Ariston.

¹ Demaratus means "granted to the prayers of the people."

² See B. V. chap. 75.

66. At length, the matter coming to a trial,¹ the Spartans determined to inquire of the oracle at Delphi "whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston." But the matter being referred to the Pythian at the instance of Cleomenes, Cleomenes thereupon gained over one Cobon, son of Aristophantus, a man of very great influence at Delphi; and Cobon prevailed with Perialla, the prophetess, to say what Cleomenes wished to be said. The Pythian accordingly, when the persons sent to consult the oracle made the inquiry, decided that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. In after time this came to be known, and Cobon fled from Delphi, and Perialla, the prophetess, was deposed from her office.

67. Thus, then, it happened with respect to the deposition of Demaratus from the sovereignty. But Demaratus fled from Sparta to the Medes on account of the following insult. After his deposition from the sovereignty, he was chosen to and held the office of magistrate. The *Gymnopædiæ*² were being celebrated; and, when Demaratus was looking on, Leutychides, who had been appointed king in his room, sent a servant and asked him, by way of ridicule and mockery, "what kind of thing it was to be a magistrate after having been a king?" But he, being vexed with the question, answered, "that he indeed had tried both, but Leutychides had not; however, that this question would be the commencement either of infinite calamity or in finite prosperity to the Lacedæmonians." Having spoken thus and covered his face, he went out of the theatre to his own house, and having immediately made preparation, he sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, and having sacrificed, called for his mother.

68. When his mother came, he placed part of the entrails in her hands, and supplicated her, speaking as follows: "Mother, I beseech you, calling to witness both the rest of the gods and this Hectæan Jupiter, to tell me the truth, who is in reality my father; for

¹ Baehr has pointed out the proper meaning of the word *νεῖκος* in this passage.

² An annual festival at Sparta, at which boys danced naked, and performed various athletic exercises.

Leutychides affirmed on the trial that you, being pregnant by your former husband, so came to Ariston: others tell even a more idle story, and say you kept company with one of the servants, a feeder of asses, and that I am his son. I adjure you, therefore, by the gods to speak the truth; for even if you have done anything of what is said, you have not done it alone, but with many others; moreover, the report is common in Sparta that Ariston was incapable of begetting children, for that otherwise his former wives would have had offspring." Thus he spoke.

69. She answered as follows: "Son, since you implore me with supplications to speak the truth, the whole truth shall be told you. When Ariston had taken me to his own house, on the third night from the first, a spectre resembling Ariston came to me, and having lain with me, put on me a crown that it had: it departed, and afterward Ariston came, but when he saw me with the crown, he asked who it was that gave it me. I said he did, but he would not admit it, whereupon I took an oath, and said that he did not well to deny it, for that having come shortly before and lain with me, he had given me the crown. Ariston, seeing that I affirmed with an oath, discovered that the event was superhuman; and, in the first place, the crown proved to have come from the shrine situate near the palace gates, which they call Astrabacus's; and, in the next place, the seers pronounced that it was the hero himself. Thus, then, my son, you have all that you wish to know; for you are sprung either from that hero, and the hero Astrabacus is your father, or Ariston, for I conceived you in that night. As to that with which your enemies most violently attack you, affirming that Ariston himself, when your birth was announced to him, in the presence of many persons, denied you were his, for that the time, ten months, had not yet elapsed, he threw out those words through ignorance of such matters, for women bring forth at nine months and seven, and all do not complete ten months. But I bore you, my son, at seven months, and Ariston himself knew not long after that he had uttered those words thoughtlessly.

Do not listen to any other stories respecting your birth, for you have heard the whole truth ; and from feeders of asses may their wives bring forth children to Leuty-chides and such as spread such reports." Thus she spoke.

70. But he, having learned what he wished, and having taken provisions for his journey, proceeded to Elis, pretending that he was going to Delphi to consult the oracle ; but the Lacedæmonians, suspecting that he was attempting to make his escape, pursued him, and by some means Demaratus got the start of them, crossing over from Elis to Zacynthus ; but the Lacedæmonians, having crossed over after him, laid hands on him and took away his attendants. But afterward, for the Zacynthians would not give him up, he crossed over from thence to Asia to king Darius, and he received him honorably, and gave him land and cities. Thus Demaratus arrived in Asia, having met with such fortune, being renowned in many other respects among the Lacedæmonians, both by his deeds and counsels, and, moreover, having obtained an Olympic victory with a four-horse chariot, he procured this honor *for his native city*, being the only one of all the kings of Sparta who had done this.

71. Leutychides, son of Menares, when Demaratus was deposed, succeeded to the kingdom. A son was born to him named Zeuxidemus, whom some of the Spartans called Cyniscus. This Zeuxidemus was never king of Sparta, for he died before Leutychides, leaving a son, Archidamus. Leutychides, being bereaved of Zeuxidemus, married a second wife, Eurydame, who was sister of Menius, and daughter of Diactorides ; by her he had no male offspring, but a daughter, Lampito ; her Archidamus, son of Zeuxidemus, married, Leuty-chides having bestowed her upon him.

72. However, Leutychides did not grow old in Sparta, but made the following reparation, as it were, to Demaratus. He commanded the Lacedæmonian army in Thessaly, and when it was in his power to have reduced the whole country to subjection, he accepted a large sum of money as a bribe ; and being caught

in the very act, sitting there in the camp on a sleeve full of silver, he was banished from Sparta, having been brought before a court of justice. His house was razed, and he fled to Tegea, where he died. These events happened some time after.

73. When Cleomenes had succeeded in his design against Demaratus, he immediately took Leutychides with him, and went against the Æginetæ, bearing a deep grudge against them on account of the insult he had received. The Æginetæ accordingly thought proper to make no farther resistance, as both kings were coming against them; they, therefore, having selected ten of the Æginetæ, the most eminent both in wealth and birth, and among them Crius, son of Polycritus, and Casambus, son of Aristocrates, who had the chief authority, and having carried them away to Attica, they delivered them as a pledge to the Athenians, the greatest enemies of the Æginetæ.

74. After this, fear of the Spartans seized upon Cleomenes, when discovered to have employed wicked artifices against Demaratus, and he withdrew secretly to Thessaly; and from thence passing into Arcadia, he began to form new designs, rousing the Arcadians against Sparta, and engaging them both by other oaths to follow him wherever he should lead them; and, moreover, he was desirous of leading the chief men of the Arcadians to the city of Nonacris, to make them swear by the water of the Styx, for in that city the water of the Styx is by the Arcadians said to be. And it is of the following description: a small quantity of water is seen and drops from a rock into a hollow, and a fence of masonry surrounds the hollow. Nonacris, in which this fountain happens to be, is a city of Arcadia near, Pheneum.

75. The Lacedæmonians, being informed that Cleomenes was acting thus, through fear restored him to Sparta on the same terms as those on which he had reigned before; but as soon as he had returned, madness seized him, though he was before somewhat crazed; for whenever he met any one of the Spartans, he used to thrust the sceptre into his face. When he was found

to do this, and to be clearly out of his mind, his relations confined him in wooden fetters; but he being so confined, and seeing a single guard left alone by the rest, asked for a knife; and when the guard at first refused to give it, he threatened what he would do to him hereafter, till at last the guard, fearing his threats, for he was one of his Helots, gave him a knife. Then Cleomenes, having got hold of the blade, began to mutilate himself from the legs, for having cut the flesh lengthwise, he proceeded from the legs to the thighs, and from the thighs to the hips and loins; at last he came to the belly, and having gashed this, in that manner he died; as most of the Grecians say, because he persuaded the Pythian to say what she did concerning Demaratus; but as the Athenians alone say, because, when he invaded Eleusis, he cut down the grove of the goddesses;¹ but as the Argives say, because he, having called out those Argives who had fled from battle, from their sacred precinct of Argus, massacred them, and, holding the grove itself in contempt, set it on fire.

76. For when Cleomenes consulted the oracle at Delphi, an answer was given him that he should take Argos. When, therefore, leading the Spartans, he arrived at the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake, for that this lake, discharging itself into an unseen chasm, reappears in Argos, and from that place this water is, by the Argives called Erasinus—Cleomenes, therefore, having arrived at this river, offered to sacrifice to it; but as the victims by no means gave a favorable omen for his passing over, he said that he admired the Erasinus for not betraying its people, yet the Argives should not even thus escape with impunity. After this, having retired, he marched his forces to Thyrea; and having sacrificed a bull to the sea, he conveyed them in ships to the Tirynthian territory and Nauplia.

77. The Argives, being informed of this, went out to meet them on the coast; and when they were near Tiryns, at that place to which the name of Sepia is

¹ Ceres and Proserpine.

given, they encamped opposite the Lacedæmonians, leaving no great space between the two armies. There, then, they were not afraid of coming to a pitched battle, but lest they should be taken by stratagem; for it was to this event the oracle had reference which the Pythian pronounced in common to them and the Milesians,¹ running thus: "When the female, having conquered the male, shall drive him out, and obtain glory among the Argives, then shall she make many of the Argive women rend their garments; so that one of future generations shall say, a terrible triple-coiled serpent has perished, overcome by the spear." All these things concurring, spread alarm among the Argives, therefore they resolved to avail themselves of the herald of the enemy; and having so resolved, they did as follows: when the Spartan herald gave any signal to the Lacedæmonians, the Argives did the same.

78. Cleomenes, having observed that the Argives did whatever his herald gave the signal for, ordered his troops, when the herald should give the signal for going to dinner, then to seize their arms, and advance against the Argives. This, accordingly, was accomplished by the Lacedæmonians, for they fell upon the Argives as they were taking their dinner, according to the herald's signal; and they killed many of them, and a far greater number, who had taken refuge in the grove of Argus, they surrounded and kept watch over.

79. Cleomenes then adopted the following course: having some deserters with him, and having received information from them, he sent a herald and called them out, summoning by name those Argives who were shut up in the sacred precinct; and he called them out, saying that he had received their ransom; but the ransom among the Peloponnesians is a fixed sum of two minæ to be paid for each prisoner. Cleomenes therefore, having called them out severally, put to death about fifty of the Argives; and somehow this went on unknown to the rest who were within the precinct; for

¹ For the part of the oracle relating to the Milesians, see chap. 19.

as the grove was thick, those within did not see those without, or what they were doing, until at last one of them, getting up into a tree, saw what was being done. They, therefore, no more went out when called for.

80. Thereupon Cleomenes ordered all the Helots to heap up wood around the grove, and when they had executed his orders, he set fire to the grove. When all was in a flame, he asked one of the deserters to which of the gods the grove belonged ; he said that it belonged to Argus. Cleomenes, when he heard this, uttering a deep groan, said, "O prophetic Apollo ! thou hast indeed greatly deceived me in saying that I should take Argos. I conjecture thy prophecy is accomplished."

81. After this, Cleomenes sent away the greater part of his army to Sparta ; and he himself, taking a thousand chosen men with him, went to offer sacrifice at the temple of Juno ; but when he wished himself to offer sacrifice on the altar, the priest forbade him, saying that it was not lawful for a stranger to offer sacrifice there ; upon which Cleomenes commanded the Helots to drag the priest from the altar and scourge him, while he himself sacrificed ; and having done this, he went away to Sparta.

82. On his return, his enemies accused him before the Ephori, alleging that he had been bribed not to take Argos, when he might easily have taken it. He said to them, whether speaking falsely or truly I am unable to say for certain ; he affirmed, however, "that when he had taken the sacred precinct of Argus, he thought that the oracle of the god was accomplished, and therefore he did not think it right to attempt the city, before he had had recourse to victims, and ascertained whether the god would favor or obstruct him ; and that while he was sacrificing favorably in the temple of Juno, a flame of fire shone forth from the breast of the image ; and thus he learned for certain that he should not take Argos ; for if it had shone forth from the head of the image, he should have taken the city completely ; but as it shone forth from the breast, he thought that everything had been done by him which the deity wished to happen." In saying this, he appeared to the

Spartans to say what was credible and reasonable, and was acquitted by a large majority.

83. Argos, however, was left so destitute of men, that their slaves had the management of affairs, ruling and administering them, until the sons of those who had been killed grew up. Then they, having recovered Argos, expelled the slaves; and the slaves, being driven out, took Tiryns by assault. For a time concord subsisted between them, but then there came to the slaves one Cleander, a prophet, who was by birth a Phigalean of Arcadia; he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. From this circumstance there was war between them for a long time, till at last the Argives with difficulty got the upper hand.

84. Now the Argives say that on this account Cleomenes became mad and perished miserably; but the Spartans themselves say that Cleomenes became mad from no divine influence, but that by associating with the Scythians he became a drinker of unmixed wine, and from that cause became mad; for that the Scythian nomades, since Darius had invaded their country, were afterward desirous to take vengeance on him, and having sent to Sparta to make an alliance, and agree that the Scythians themselves should endeavor to make an irruption into Media near the river Phasis, and to urge the Spartans to set out from Ephesus, and march upward, and then for both armies to meet at the same place. They say that Cleomenes, when the Scythians came for this purpose, associated with them too intimately; and being more intimate with them than was proper, contracted from them a habit of drinking unmixed wine: and the Spartans think that he became mad from this cause. And from that time, as they themselves say, when they wish to drink stronger drink, they say, "Pour out like a Scythian." Thus, then, the Spartans speak concerning Cleomenes. But Cleomenes appears to me to have suffered this retribution on account of Demaratus.

85. When the Æginetæ were informed of the death of Cleomenes, they sent ambassadors to Sparta to complain loudly against Leutychides, on account of the

hostages detained at Athens ; and the Lacedæmonians, having assembled a court of judicature, determined that the Æginetæ had been very much injured by Leutychides, and condemned him to be delivered up and taken to Ægina, in the place of the men who were detained at Athens. But when the Æginetæ were about to take Leutychides away, Theasides, son of Leoprepes, an eminent man in Sparta, said to them, "Men of Ægina, what are you going to do, to take away the king of the Spartans, who has been delivered into your hands by the citizens ? If the Spartans, yielding to anger, have so decided, take care lest, if you do these things, they hereafter pour into your country a calamity which will utterly destroy you." The Æginetæ, having heard this, refrained from taking him away, and came to this agreement, that Leutychides should accompany them to Athens, and restore the men to the Æginetæ.

86. When Leutychides, on his arrival at Athens, demanded back the pledges, the Athenians had recourse to evasions, not wishing to give them up ; and said that two kings had deposited them, and it would not be right to deliver them up to one without the other. When the Athenians refused to give them up, Leutychides addressed them as follows : "O Athenians, do whichever you yourselves wish ; for if you deliver them up, you will do what is just, and if you do not deliver them up, the contrary. I will, however, tell you what once happened in Sparta respecting a deposit. We Spartans say, that about three generations before my time, there lived in Lacedæmon one Glaucus, son of Epicydes : we relate that this man both attained to the first rank in all other respects, and also bore the highest character for justice of all who at that time dwelt at Lacedæmon. We say that in due time the following events befell him. A certain Milesian, having come to Sparta, wished to have a conference with him, and made the following statement : "I am a Milesian, and am come, Glaucus, with the desire of profiting by your justice ; for since throughout all the rest of Greece, and particularly in Ionia, there was great talk of

your justice, I considered with myself that Ionia is continually exposed to great dangers, and that, on the contrary, Peloponnesus is securely situated, and consequently that *with us* one can never see the same persons retaining property. Having, therefore, reflected and deliberated on these things, I have determined to change half of my whole substance into silver and deposit it with you, being well assured that, being placed with you, it will be safe. Do you, then, take this money, and preserve these tokens ; and whosoever possessing these shall demand it back again, restore it to him." (2) The stranger who came from Miletus spoke thus. But Glaucus received the deposit on the condition mentioned. After a long time had elapsed, the sons of this man who had deposited the money came to Sparta, and having addressed themselves to Glaucus, and shown the tokens, demanded back the money. Glaucus repulsed them, answering as follows : I neither remember the matter, nor does it occur to me that I know any of the circumstances you mention ; but if I can recall it to my mind, I am willing to do everything that is just ; and if, indeed, I have received it, *I wish* to restore it correctly ; but if I have not received it at all, I shall have recourse to the laws of the Greeks against you. I therefore defer settling this matter with you for four months from the present time. (3) The Milesians, accordingly, considering it a great calamity, departed, as being deprived of their money. But Glaucus went to Delphi to consult the oracle ; and when he asked the oracle whether he should make a booty of the money by an oath, the Pythian assailed him in the following words : "Glaucus, son of Epi-cydes, thus to prevail by an oath, and to make a booty of the money, will be a present gain : swear, then ; for death even awaits the man who keeps his oath. But there is a nameless son of Perjury, who has neither hands nor feet ; he pursues swiftly, until, having seized, he destroys the whole race, and all the house. But the race of a man who keeps his oath is afterward more blessed." Glaucus, having heard this, entreated the god to pardon the words he had spoken ; but the

Pythian said that to tempt the gods and to commit the crime were the same thing. Glaucus, therefore, having sent for the Milesian strangers, restored them the money. With what design this story has been told you, O Athenians, shall now be mentioned. There is at present not a single descendant of Glaucus, nor any house which is supposed to have belonged to Glaucus; but he is utterly extirpated from Sparta. Thus it is right to have no other thought concerning a deposit than to restore it when it is demanded." Leutychides having said this, but finding the Athenians did not even then listen to him, departed.

87. But the Æginetæ, before they received punishment for the injuries they had done to the Athenians, to gratify the Thebans,¹ acted as follows. Being offended with the Athenians, and thinking themselves injured, they prepared to revenge themselves on the Athenians; and as the Athenians happened to have a five-benched galley at Sunium, they formed an ambuscade and took the ship Theoris,² filled with the principal Athenians; and having taken the men, they put them in chains.

88. The Athenians, having been treated thus by the Æginetæ, no longer delayed to devise all sorts of plans against them. Now there was in Ægina an eminent man named Nicodromus, son of Cnoethus; he, being incensed against the Æginetæ on account of his former banishment from the island, and now hearing that the Athenians were preparing to do a mischief to the Æginetæ, entered into an agreement with the Athenians for the betrayal of Ægina, mentioning on what day he would make the attempt, and on what it would be necessary for them to come to his assistance. After this, Nicodromus, according to his agreement with the Athenians, seized that which is called the old town.

89. The Athenians, however, did not arrive at the proper time, for they happened not to have a sufficient number of ships to engage with the Æginetæ; and

¹ See B. V. chap. 80, 81.

² The Theoris was a vessel which was sent every year to Delos to offer sacrifice to Apollo.

while they were entreating the Corinthians to furnish them with ships, their plan was ruined. The Corinthians, for they were then on very friendly terms with them, at their request supplied the Athenians with twenty ships; and they furnished them, letting them to hire for five drachmæ for each, because by their laws they were forbidden to give them for nothing. The Athenians, therefore, having taken these and their own, manned seventy ships in all, and sailed to Ægina, and arrived one day after that agreed upon.

90. Nicodromus, when the Athenians did not arrive at the proper time, embarked on shipboard and made his escape from Ægina; and others of the Æginetæ accompanied him, to whom the Athenians gave Sunium for a habitation; and they, sallying from thence, plundered the Æginetæ in the island. This, however, happened subsequently.

91. In the mean time, the most wealthy of the Æginetæ overpowered the common people, who, together with Nicodromus, had revolted against them, and afterward having subdued them, they led them out to execution; and on this occasion they incurred a guilt which they were unable to expiate by any contrivance; but they were ejected out of the island before the goddess became propitious to them; for, having taken seven hundred of the common people prisoners they led them out to execution; and one of them, having escaped from his bonds, fled to the porch of Ceres the lawgiver, and seizing the door-handle, held it fast; but they, when they were unable, by dragging, to tear him away, cut off his hands, and so took him away; and the hands were left sticking on the door-handles.

92. Thus, then, the Æginetæ treated their own people. But when the Athenians arrived with their seventy ships, they came to an engagement, and being conquered in the sea-fight, they called on the same persons as before for assistance, *that is*, on the Argives. They, however, would not any longer succor them, but complained that the ships of the Æginetæ, having been forcibly seized by Cleomenes, had touched on the territory of Argos, and the crews had disem-

barked with the Lacedæmonians. Some men had also disembarked from Sicyonian ships in the same invasion ; and a penalty was imposed upon them by the Argives, to pay a thousand talents, five hundred each. The Sicyonians, accordingly, acknowledging that they had acted unjustly, made an agreement to pay one hundred talents, and be free from the rest ; but the Æginetæ would not own themselves in the wrong, and were very obstinate. On this account, therefore, none of the Argives were sent by the commonwealth to assist them ; but, on their request, volunteers *went* to the number of a thousand : a general, whose name was Eurybates, and who had practiced for the pentathlon, led them : the greater number of these never returned home, but were slain by the Athenians in Ægina. The general, Eurybates, engaging in single combat, killed three several antagonists in that manner, but was slain by the fourth, Sophanes of Decelea.

93. The Æginetæ, however, having attacked the fleet of the Athenians when they were in disorder, obtained a victory, and took four of their ships, with the men on board.

94. War was accordingly kindled between the Athenians and Æginetæ. But the Persian pursued his own design, for the servant continually reminded him to remember the Athenians, and the Pisistratidæ constantly importuned him and accused the Athenians ; and, at the same time, Darius, laying hold of this pretext, was desirous of subduing those people of Greece who had refused to give him earth and water. He therefore dismissed Mardonius from his command, because he had succeeded ill in his expedition ; and having appointed other generals, he sent them against Eretria and Athens, *namely*, Datis, who was a Mede by birth, and Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, his own nephew ; and he despatched them with strict orders, having enslaved Athens and Eretria, to bring the bondsmen into his presence.

95. When these generals who were appointed left the king, and reached the Aleian plain of Cilicia, bringing with them a numerous and well equipped army, while

they were there encamped the whole naval force required from each people came up : the horse-transporters were also present, which Darius in the preceding year had commanded his tributaries to prepare. Having put the horses on board of these, and having embarked the land-forces in the ships, they sailed for Ionia with six hundred triremes. From thence they did not steer their ships along the continent direct toward the Hellespont and Thrace, but, parting from Samos, they directed their course across the Icarian sea, and through the islands ; as appears to me, chiefly dreading the circumnavigation of Athos, because in the preceding year, in attempting a passage that way, they had sustained great loss ; and besides, Naxos compelled them, not having been before captured.

96. When, being carried out of the Icarian sea, they arrived off Naxos (for the Persians, bearing in mind what had formerly happened,¹ purposed to attack this place first), the Naxians fled to the mountains, and did not await their approach : the Persians, therefore, having seized as many of them as they could lay hold of, as slaves, set fire to both the sacred buildings and the city ; and having done this, they proceeded against the rest of the islands.

97. While they were doing this, the Delians, also, abandoning Delos, fled to Tenos ; but as the fleet was sailing down toward it, Datis, having sailed forward, would not permit the ships to anchor near the island, but farther on, off Rhenea ; and he, having ascertained where the Delians were, sent a herald and addressed them as follows : " Sacred men, why have you fled, forming an unfavorable opinion of me ? for both I myself have so much wisdom, and am so ordered by the king, that in the region where the two deities² were born, no harm should be done either to the country itself or its inhabitants. Return, therefore, to your houses, and resume possession of the island." This message he sent to the Delians by means of a herald ; and afterward having heaped up three hundred talents of frankincense upon the altar, he burned it.

¹ See B. V. ch. 34.

² Apollo and Diana.

98. Datis, accordingly, having done this, sailed with the army first against Eretria, taking with him both Ionians and Æolians. But after he had put out to sea from thence, Delos was shaken by an earthquake, as the Delians say, the first and last time that it was so affected to my time; and the deity assuredly by this portent intimated to men the evils that were about to befall them; for during the reigns of Darius, son of Hystaspes, of Xerxes, son of Darius, and of Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes—during these three successive generations, more disasters befell Greece than during the twenty generations that preceded the time of Darius; partly brought upon it by the Persians, and partly by the chief men among them contending for power; so that it is nothing improbable that Delos should be moved at that time, having been until then unmoved: and in an oracle respecting it, it had been thus written: “I will move even Delos, although hitherto unmoved.” And in the Grecian language these names mean, Darius, “one who restrains”; Xerxes, “a warrior”; and Artaxerxes, “a mighty warrior.” Thus, then, the Greeks may rightly designate these kings in their language.

99. The barbarians, after they had parted from Delos, touched at the islands, and from thence they took with them men to serve in the army, and carried away the sons of the islanders for hostages; and when, having sailed round the islands, they touched at Carystus, as the Carystians would not give hostages, and refused to bear arms against their neighboring cities, meaning Eretria and Athens, they thereupon besieged them and ravaged their country, until at last the Carystians also submitted to the will of the Persians.

100. The Eretrians, being informed that the Persian armament was sailing against them, entreated the Athenians to assist them; and the Athenians did not refuse their aid, but gave them as auxiliaries those four thousand men to whom had been allotted the territory of the horse-feeding Chalcidians.¹ But the councils of the Eretrians were not at all sound: they sent for the Athenians indeed, but held divided opinions; for some of them

¹ See B. V. ch. 77.

proposed to abandon the city, *and to retire* to the fastnesses of Eubœa ; but others of them, hoping that they should derive gain to themselves from the Persians, were planning to betray their country. But Æschines, son of Nothon, a man of rank among the Eretrians, being informed of the views of both parties, communicated to the Athenians who had come the whole state of their affairs, and entreated them to return to their own country, lest they too should perish. The Athenians followed this advice of Æschines, and, having crossed over to Oropus, saved themselves.

101. In the mean time, the Persians, sailing on, directed their ships' course to Tamynæ, Choërea, and Ægilia, of the Eretrian territory ; and having taken possession of these places, they immediately disembarked the horses, and made preparations to attack the enemy. But the Eretrians had no thoughts of going out against them and fighting, but since that opinion had prevailed, that they should not abandon the city, their only care now was if by any means they could defend the walls. A violent attack on the walls ensuing, for six days many fell on both sides, but on the seventh, Euphorbus, son of Alcimachus, and Philargus, son of Cyneus, men of rank among the citizens, betrayed the city to the Persians. But they having gained entrance into the city, in the first place pillaged and set fire to the temples, in revenge for those that had been burned at Sardis, and in the next, they enslaved the inhabitants, in obedience to the commands of Darius.

102. Having subdued Eretria and rested a few days, they sailed to Attica, pressing them very close, and expecting to treat the Athenians in the same way as they had the Eretrians. Now, as Marathon was the spot in Attica best adapted for cavalry, and nearest to Eretria, Hippias, son of Pisistratus, conducted them there.

103. But the Athenians, when they heard of this, also sent their forces to Marathon ; and ten generals led them, of whom the tenth was Miltiades, whose father, Cimon,¹ son of Stesagoras, had been banished

¹ See ch. 39—41.

from Athens by Pisistratus, son of Hippocrates. During his exile, it was his good fortune to obtain the Olympic prize in the four-horse chariot race, and having gained this victory, he transferred the honor to Miltiades, his brother by the same mother ; and afterward, in the next Olympiad, being victorious with the same mares, he permitted Pisistratus to be proclaimed victor, and having conceded the victory to him, he returned home under terms ; and after he had gained another Olympic prize with these same mares, it happened that he died by the hands of the sons of Pisistratus, when Pisistratus himself was no longer alive : they slew him near the Prytaneum, having placed men to waylay him by night. Cimon was buried in front of the city, beyond that which is called the road through Coela, and opposite him these same mares were buried which won the three Olympic prizes. Other mares also had already done the same thing, belonging to Evagoras the Lacedæmonian, but besides these none others. Stesagoras, the elder of the sons of Cimon, was at that time being educated by his paternal uncle Miltiades in the Chersonese, but the younger by Cimon himself at Athens, and he had the name of Miltiades from Miltiades, the founder of the Chersonese.

104. At that time, then, this Miltiades, coming from the Chersonese, and having escaped a twofold death, became general of the Athenians ; for, in the first place, the Phœnicians, having pursued him as far as Imbrose, were exceedingly desirous of seizing him, and carrying him up to the king ; and, in the next, when he had escaped them, and had returned to his own country, and thought himself in safety, his enemies thereupon, having attacked him, and brought him before a court of justice, prosecuted him for tyranny in the Chersonese : but having escaped these also, he was at length appointed general of the Athenians, being chosen by the people.

105. And, first, while the generals were yet in the city, they despatched a herald to Sparta, one Phidippides, an Athenian, who was a courier by profession, one who attended to this very business. This man,

then, as Phidippides himself said and reported to the Athenians, Pan met near Mount Parthenion, above Tegea ; and Pan, calling out the name of Phidippides, bade him ask the Athenians why they paid no attention to him, who was well inclined to the Athenians, and had often been useful to them, and would be so hereafter. The Athenians, therefore, as their affairs were then in a prosperous condition, believed that this was true, and erected a temple to Pan beneath the Acropolis, and in consequence of that message they propitiate Pan with yearly sacrifices and the torch race.

106. This Phidippides, being sent by the generals at that time when he said Pan appeared to him, arrived in Sparta on the following day after his departure from the city of the Athenians, and on coming in presence of the magistrates, he said, "Lacedæmonians, the Athenians entreat you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient city among the Greeks to fall into bondage to barbarians ; for Eretria is already reduced to slavery, and Greece has become weaker by the loss of a renowned city." He accordingly delivered the message according to his instructions, and they resolved indeed to assist the Athenians ; but it was out of their power to do so immediately, as they were unwilling to violate the law ; for it was the ninth day of the current month, and they said they could not march out on the ninth day, the moon's circle not being full. They therefore waited for the full moon.

107. Meanwhile Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had led the barbarians to Marathon, having the preceding night seen the following vision in his sleep. Hippias fancied that he lay with his own mother : he inferred, therefore, from the dream, that, having returned to Athens and recovered the sovereignty, he should die an old man in his own country. He drew this inference from the vision. At that time, as he was leading the way, he first of all landed the slaves from Eretria on the island of the Styreans, called Ægilia ; and next he moored the ships as they came from Marathon, and drew up the barbarians as they disembarked on land ; and as he was

busied in doing this, it happened that he sneezed and coughed more violently than he was accustomed ; and as he was far advanced in years, several of his teeth were loose, so that through the violence of his cough he threw out one of these teeth ; and as it fell on the sand, he used every endeavor to find it, but when the tooth could nowhere be found, he drew a deep sigh, and said to the bystanders, " This country is not ours, nor shall we be able to subdue it ; whatever share belongeth to me, my tooth possesses." Hippias accordingly inferred that his vision had been thus fulfilled.

108. When the Athenians were drawn up in a place sacred to Hercules, the Platæans came to their assistance with all their forces ; for the Platæans had given themselves up to the Athenians, and the Athenians had already undergone many toils on their account ; and they gave themselves up on the following occasion. The Platæans, being hard pressed by the Thebans, first offered themselves to Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, and to the Lacedæmonians who happened to be present. They would not receive them, but addressed them as follows : " We live at too great a distance, and such assistance would be of little value to you ; for you would often be enslaved before any of us could be informed of it. We advise you, therefore, to give yourselves up to the Athenians, who are your neighbors, and are not backward in assisting." The Lacedæmonians gave this advice, not so much from any good will to the Platæans, as from a desire that the Athenians might be subject to toil by being set at variance with the Boeotians. The Lacedæmonians accordingly gave this advice to the Platæans, and they did not disregard it ; but when the Athenians were performing the sacred rites to the twelve gods, they sat down at the altar as suppliants, and delivered themselves up. But the Thebans, having heard of this, marched against the Platæans, and the Athenians went to assist ; and as they were about to engage in battle, the Corinthians interfered ; for, happening to be present, and mediating between them, at the request of both parties, they prescribed the limits to the country in the following manner : that the The-

bans should leave alone those of the Bœotians who did not wish to be ranked among the Bœotians. The Corinthians, having made this decision, returned home ; but the Bœotians attacked the Athenians as they were departing, but, having attacked them, were worsted in the battle. The Athenians, therefore, passing beyond the limits which the Corinthians had fixed for the Plateæans—passing beyond these, they made the Asopus and Hysiaë to be the boundary between the Thebans and Plateæans. The Plateæans, therefore, gave themselves up to the Athenians in the manner above described, and at that time came to assist them at Marathon.

109. The opinions of the Athenian generals were divided ; one party not consenting to engage, “ because they were too few to engage with the army of the Medes ; ” and the others, among whom was Miltiades, urging them *to give battle*. When, therefore, they were divided, and the worst opinion was likely to prevail, thereupon, for there was an eleventh voter who was appointed minister of war among the Athenians, for the Athenians in ancient times gave the minister of war an equal vote with the generals, and at that time Callimachus of Aphidnæ was minister of war—to him, therefore, Miltiades came, and spoke as follows : “ It now depends on you, Callimachus, either to enslave Athens, or, by preserving its liberty, to leave a memorial of yourself to every age, such as not even Harmodius and Aristogiton have left ; for the Athenians were never in so great danger from the time they were first a people ; and if they succumb to the Medes, it has been determined what they are to suffer when delivered up to Hippias ; but if the city survives, it will become the first of the Grecian cities. How, then, this can be brought to pass, and how the power of deciding this matter depends on you, I will now proceed to explain. The opinions of us generals, who are ten, are divided, the one party urging that we should engage, the other that we should not engage. Now if we do not engage, I expect that some great dissension arising among us will shake the minds of the Athenians, so as to induce

them to a compliance with the Medes ; but if we engage before any dastardly thought arises in the minds of some of the Athenians, if the gods are impartial, we shall be able to get the better in the engagement. All these things, therefore, are now in your power, and entirely depend on you ; for if you will support my opinion, your country will be free, and the city the first in Greece ; but if you join with those who would dissuade us from an engagement, the contrary of the advantages, I have enumerated will fall to your lot."

110. Miltiades, by these words, gained over Callimachus, and the opinion of the minister of war being added, it was determined to engage. Afterward the generals whose opinion had been given to engage, as the command for the day devolved upon each of them, gave it up to Miltiades ; but he, having accepted it, would not come to an engagement before his own turn to command came.

111. When it came round to his turn, then the Athenians were drawn out in the following order for the purpose of engaging. The war-minister, Callimachus, commanded the right wing, for the law at that time was so settled among the Athenians that the war-minister should have the right wing. He having this command, the tribes succeeded as they were usually reckoned, adjoining one another ; but the Plateæans were drawn out last of all, occupying the left wing. Now, ever since that battle, when the Athenians offer sacrifices and celebrate the public festivals which take place every five years, the Athenian herald prays, saying, "May blessings attend both the Athenians and the Plateæans." At that time, when the Athenians were drawn out at Marathon, the following was the case : their line was equal in extent to the Medic line, but the middle of it was but few deep, and there the line was weakest ; but each wing was strong in numbers.

112. When they were thus drawn out, and the victims were favorable, thereupon the Athenians, as soon as they were ordered to charge, advanced against the barbarians in double-quick time ; and the space between them was not less than eight stades. But the Persians, seeing

them charging at full speed, prepared to receive them ; and they imputed madness to them, and that utterly destructive, when they saw that they were few in number, and that they rushed on at full speed, though they had no cavalry nor archers. So the barbarians surmised. The Athenians, however, when they engaged in close ranks with the barbarians, fought in a manner worthy of record ; for they, the first of all the Greeks whom we know of, charged the enemy at full speed, and they first endured the sight of the Medic garb, and the men that wore it ; but until that time the very name of the Medes was a terror to the Greeks.

113. The battle at Marathon lasted a long time ; and in the middle of the line, where the Persians themselves and the Sacæ were arrayed, the barbarians were victorious ; in this part, then, the barbarians conquered, and having broken the line, pursued to the interior ; but in both wings the Athenians and the Plateæans were victorious ; and having gained the victory, they allowed the defeated portion of the barbarians to flee ; and having united both wings, they fought with those who had broken their center, and the Athenians were victorious. They followed the Persians in their flight, cutting them to pieces, till, reaching the shore, they called for fire and attacked the ships.

114. And, in the first place, in this battle the war-minister, Callimachus, was killed, having proved himself a brave man ; and among the generals, Stesilaus, son of Thrasyllas, perished ; and, in the next place, Cynægeirus, son of Euphorion, having laid hold of a ship's poop, had his hand severed by an axe and fell ; and, besides, many other distinguished Athenians *were slain*.

115. In this manner the Athenians made themselves masters of seven ships ; but with the rest the barbarians, rowing rapidly back, and after taking off the Eretrian slaves from the island in which they had left them, sailed around Sunium, wishing to anticipate the Athenians in reaching the city. The charge prevailed among the Athenians that they formed this design by the contrivance of the Alcmaeonidæ ; for that

they, having agreed with the Persians, held up a shield to them when they were on board their ships.

116. They then sailed round Sunium. But the Athenians marched with all speed to the assistance of the city, and were beforehand in reaching it before the barbarians arrived; and having come from the precinct of Hercules at Marathon, they took up their station in another precinct of Hercules at Cynosarges; but the barbarians, having laid to with their fleet off Phalerum, for this was at that time the port of the Athenians, having anchored their ships there for a time, they sailed away for Asia.

117. In this battle at Marathon there died of the barbarians about six thousand four hundred men; and of the Athenians, one hundred and ninety-two: so many fell on both sides. The following prodigy occurred there: an Athenian, Epizelus, son of Cuphagoras, while fighting in the medley, and behaving valiantly, was deprived of sight, though wounded in no part of his body, nor struck from a distance; and he continued to be blind from that time for the remainder of his life. I have heard that he used to give the following account of his loss. He thought that a large heavy-armed man stood before him, whose beard shaded the whole of his shield; that this spectre passed by him, and killed the man that stood by his side. Such is the account, I have been informed, Epizelus used to give.

118. Datis, on his way back with the armament to Asia, when he came to Myconus, saw a vision in his sleep: what the vision was is not related; but he, as soon as day appeared, caused a search to be made through the ships; and having found in a Phœnician ship a gilded image of Apollo, he inquired whence it had been robbed; and having learned from what temple it was, he sailed in his own ship to Delos, and, as at that time the Delians had come back to the island, he deposited the image in the temple, and charged the Delians to convey the image to Delium of the Thebans; that place is on the coast, opposite Chalcis: Datis, accordingly, having given this charge, sailed away. The Delians, however, did not convey back this statue, but

the Thebans themselves, twenty years afterward, carried it to Delium, in obedience to an oracle.

119. Those of the Eretrians who had been enslaved, Datis and Artaphernes, as soon as they reached Asia, took up to Susa; but king Darius, before the Eretrians were made captive, harbored deep resentment against them, as the Eretrians had been the first to begin acts of injustice; but when he saw them brought into his presence, and subject to his power, he did them no other harm, but settled them in the Cissian territory at a station of his own, the name of which is Ardericca: it is two hundred and ten stades distant from Susa, and forty from the well which produces three different substances; for asphalt, salt, and oil are drawn up from it in the following manner. It is pumped up by means of a swipe, and, instead of a bucket, half of a wine-skin is attached to it; having dipped down with this, a man draws it up and then pours the contents into a receiver; and, being poured from this into another, it assumes three different forms: the asphalt and the salt immediately become solid, but the oil they collect, and the Persians call it rhadinace: it is black, and emits a strong odor. Here king Darius settled the Eretrians, who, even to my time, occupied this territory, retaining their ancient language. Such things took place with regard to the Eretrians.

120. Two thousand of the Lacedæmonians came to Athens after the full moon, making such haste to be in time that they arrived in Attica on the third day after leaving Sparta; but having come too late for the battle, they nevertheless desired to see the Medes; and having proceeded to Marathon, they saw *the slain*; and afterward, having commended the Athenians and their achievement, they returned home.

121. It is a marvel to me, and I cannot credit the report, that the Alcmaeonidæ ever held up a shield to the Persians by agreement, wishing that the Athenians should be subject to the barbarians and to Hippias; for they were evidently haters of tyrants more than, or equally with Callias, son of Phoenippus, and father of Hipponicus; for Callias was the only one of all the

Athenians who, when Pisiſtratus was driven from Athens, dared to purchase his goods when put up to sale by the public crier; and he devised everything else that was most hostile to him.

122. This Callias deserves to have frequent mention made of him by every one: first of all, on account of what has been already mentioned, as being a man ardent in asserting the freedom of his country; and, in the next place, on account of what he did at Olympia, having been victorious in the horse-race, and second in the chariot-race, and having before won the prize in the Pythian games, he was distinguished among all the Greeks for the greatest munificence. Moreover, with regard to his daughters, who were three in number, he behaved in the following manner: when they were of fit age for marriage, he gave them a most magnificent present, and gratified their wishes; for he gave each to that man of all the Athenians whom she wished to select for her own husband.

123. And the Alcæonidæ were haters of tyrants, equally with, or not at all less than him. It is therefore a marvel to me, and I cannot admit the charge that they held up a shield, who at all times shunned the tyrants, and by, whose contrivance the Pisiſtratidæ abandoned the tyranny.¹ Thus, in my judgment, these were the persons who liberated Athens much more than Harmodius and Aristogiton, for they, by slaying Hipparchus exasperated the survivors of the Pisiſtratidæ, but did not any the more put an end to the tyranny of the rest; whereas the Alcæonidæ manifestly liberated their country, if indeed they were the persons who persuaded the Pythian to enjoin the Lacedæmonians to liberate Athens, as I have already shown.²

124. But, perhaps, having some grudge against the Athenian people, they betrayed their country? There were not, however, any other men who were more highly esteemed among the Athenians than them, or who were more honored; so that it is not consistent with reason that a shield was held up by them from such a motive.

¹ B. V. chap. 62, 65.

² B. V. chap. 63.

Still, a shield was held up ; and this cannot be denied, for so it was ; but who it was that held it up I am not able to say farther than this.

125. The Alcmaeonidæ were even from a very early period distinguished at Athens ; for through Alcmaeon, and again through Megacles, they became very distinguished. For, in the first place, Alcmaeon, son of Megacles, was coadjutor to the Lydians from Sardis, who came on the part of Croesus to consult the oracle at Delphi,¹ and he assisted them zealously ; and Croesus being informed by the Lydians, who had gone to consult the oracle, that he had done him good service, sent for him to Sardis, and when he arrived, presented him with so much gold as he could carry away at once on his own person. Alcmaeon, for the purpose of such a present, had recourse to the following expedient : having put on a large cloak, and having left a deep fold in the cloak, and having drawn on the widest boots he could find, he went into the treasury to which they conducted him ; and meeting with a heap of gold-dust, he first stuffed around his legs as much gold as the boots would contain ; and then, having filled the whole fold with gold, and having sprinkled the gold-dust over the hair of his head, and put more into his mouth, he went out of the treasury, dragging his boots with difficulty, and resembling anything rather than a man ; for his mouth was stuffed, and he was all over swollen. Croesus, when he saw him, burst into laughter ; and he gave him all that, and, besides, presented him with other things not of less value than it. Thus this family became extremely rich ; and this Alcmaeon, having by these means bred horses, won the prize in the Olympic games.

126. In the second generation after, Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, raised the family so that it became far more celebrated among the Greeks than it had been before ; for Clisthenes, son of Aristonymus, son of Myron, son of Andreas, had a daughter whose name was Agarista : her he resolved to give in marriage to

¹ B I. chap. 47, 53, 55.

the man whom he should find the most accomplished of all the Greeks. When, therefore, the Olympian games were being celebrated, Clisthenes, being victorious in them in the chariot race, made a proclamation, "that whoever of the Greeks deemed himself worthy to become the son-in-law of Clisthenes, should come to Sicyon on the sixtieth day, or even before; since Clisthenes had determined on the marriage in a year, reckoning from the sixtieth day." Thereupon such of the Greeks as were puffed up with themselves and their country came as suitors; and Clisthenes, having made a race-course and palæstra for them, kept it for this very purpose.

127 From Italy, accordingly, came Smindyrides, son of Hippocrates, a Sybarite, who more than any other man reached the highest pitch of luxury (and Sybaris was at that time in a most flourishing condition); and Damasus of Siris, son of Amyris called the Wise: these came from Italy. From the Ionian gulf, Amphimnestus, son of Epistrophus, an Epidamnian: he came from the Ionian gulf. An Ætolian came, Males, brother of that Titormus who surpassed the Greeks in strength, and fled from the society of men to the extremity of the Ætolian territory. And from Peloponnesus, Leocedes, son of Pheidon, tyrant of the Argives, *a descendant* of that Pheidon who introduced measures among the Peloponnesians, and was the most insolent of all the Greeks, who having removed the Elean umpires, himself regulated the games of Olympia; his son accordingly came. And Amiantus, son of Lycurgus, an Arcadian from Trapezus; and an Azenian from the city of Pæos, Laphanes, son of Euphorion, who, as the story is told in Arcadia, received the Dioscuri in his house, and after that entertained all men; and an Elean, Onomastus, son of Agæus: these accordingly came from the Peloponnesus itself. From Athens there came Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, the same who had visited Cræsus, and another, Hippoclidès, son of Tisander, who surpassed the Athenians in wealth and beauty. From Eretria which was flourishing at that time, came Lysanias: he was the only one from Eubœa.

And from Thessaly there came, of the Scopades, Diac-
torides a Cranonian ; and from the Molossi, Alcon.

128. So many were the suitors. When they had arrived on the appointed day, Clisthenes made inquiries of their country and the family of each ; then detaining them for a year, he made trial of their manly qualities, their dispositions, learning, and morals ; holding familiar intercourse with each separately, and with all together, and leading out to the gymnasia such of them as were younger : but most of all he made trial of them at the banquet ; for as long as he detained them, he did this throughout, and at the same time entertained them magnificently. And somehow, of all the suitors, those that had come from Athens pleased him most, and of these Hippoclidēs, son of Tisander, was preferred both on account of his manly qualities, and because he was distantly related to the Cypselidæ in Corinth.

129. When the day appointed for the consummation of the marriage arrived, and for the declaration of Clisthenes himself, whom he would choose of them all, Clisthenes, having sacrificed a hundred oxen, entertained both the suitors themselves and all the Sicyonians ; and when they had concluded the feast, the suitors had a contest about music, and any subject proposed for conversation. As the drinking went on, Hippoclidēs, who much attracted the attention of the rest, ordered the flute-player to play a dance ; and when the flute-player obeyed, he began to dance ; and he danced, probably, so as to please himself ; but Clisthenes, seeing it, beheld the whole matter with suspicion. Afterwards, Hippoclidēs, having rested a while, ordered some one to bring in a table ; and when the table came in, he first danced Læconian figures on it, and then Attic ones ; and in the third place, having leaned his head on the table, he gesticulated with his legs. But Clisthenes, when he danced the first and second time, revolted from the thought of having Hippoclidēs for his son-in-law, on account of his dancing and want of decorum, yet restrained himself, not wishing to burst out against him ; but when he saw him gesticulating with his legs, he was no longer able to restrain himself, and said, “ Son of Tisander, you

have danced away your marriage." But Hippoclidēs answered, "No matter to Hippoclidēs." Hence this answer became a proverb.

130. Clisthenes, having commanded silence, thus addressed the assembled company: "Gentlemen, suitors of my daughter, I commend you all, and, if it were possible, would gratify you all, not selecting one of you above the others, nor reject the rest; but as it is not possible, since I have to determine about a single damsel, to indulge the wishes of all, to such of you as are rejected from the marriage, I present a talent of silver to each, on account of your condescending to take a wife from my family, and of your absence from home; but to Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, I betroth my daughter Agarista, according to the laws of the Athenians." When Megacles said that he accepted the betrothal, the marriage was celebrated by Clisthenes.

131. This happened respecting the decision between the suitors, and thus the Alcmaeonidæ became celebrated throughout Greece. From this marriage sprung Clisthenes, who established the tribes and a democracy among the Athenians, taking his name from his maternal grandfather the Sicyonian; he was born to Megacles, as was also Hippocrates; and from Hippocrates, another Megacles, and another Agarista, who took her name from Agarista, daughter of Clisthenes; she having married Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, and being with child, saw a vision in her sleep, and fancied that she brought forth a lion; and after a few days she bore Pericles to Xanthippus.

132. After the defeat of *the Persians* at Marathon, Miltiades, who was before highly esteemed among the Athenians, then still more increased his reputation. Having, therefore, asked of the Athenians seventy ships, and troops, and money, without telling them what country he proposed to invade, but saying that he would make them rich if they would follow him, for that he would take them to such a country, from whence they would easily bring abundance of gold; speaking thus, he asked for the ships; and the Athenians, elated by these hopes, granted them.

133. Miltiades, accordingly, having taken with him the troops, sailed against Paros, alleging as a pretext that the Parians had first begun hostilities by sending a trireme with the Persian to Marathon. This was his pretended reason ; but, in fact, he had a grudge against the Parians on account of Lysagoras, son of Tisias, who was a Parian by birth, and had calumniated him to Hydarnes the Persian. Miltiades, having arrived with his forces at the place to which he was sailing, besieged the Parians, who were driven within their walls ; and, sending a herald to them, he demanded a hundred talents, saying that if they did not give him that sum, he would not draw off his army until he had destroyed them. The Parians never entertained the thought whether they should give Miltiades any money, but devised means by which they might defend the city ; and, in addition to other plans, they also, in the several parts where the wall was most exposed to attack, there raised it, during the night, to double its former height.

134. Up to this point of the story all the Greeks agree ; but after this, the Parians themselves say that it happened as follows : that when Miltiades was in a state of perplexity, a captive woman, who was by birth a Parian, and her name was Timo, conferred with him ; she was an inferior priestess of the infernal goddesses. When she came into the presence of Miltiades, she advised him, if he deemed it of great consequence to take Paros, to act as she should suggest. She then made some suggestion ; and he, coming to the mound that is before the city, leaped over the fence of Ceres Thesmophora, as he was unable to open the door : and having leaped over, he went to the temple, for the purpose of doing something within, either to move some of the things that may not be moved, or to do something or other ; and he was just at the door, when suddenly a thrill of horror came over him, and he went back by the same way ; and, in leaping over the fence, his thigh was dislocated ; others say that he hurt his knee.

135. Miltiades, accordingly, being in a bad plight, sailed back home, neither bringing money to the Athenians, nor having reduced Paros, but having besieged it

for six and twenty days, and ravaged the island. The Parians, being informed that Timo, the priestess of the goddesses, had directed Miltiades, and desiring to punish her for so doing, sent deputies to the oracle at Delphi as soon as they were relieved from the siege; they sent to inquire whether they should put to death the priestess of the goddesses for having made known to the enemy the means of capturing her country, and for having discovered to Miltiades sacred things, which ought not to be revealed to the male sex. But the Pythian did not allow them, saying "that Timo was not to blame for this, but that it was fated Miltiades should come to a miserable end, and she had appeared to him as a guide to misfortunes." The Pythian gave this answer to the Parians.

136. When Miltiades returned from Paros, the Athenians were loud in their complaints against him, both all others, and especially Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, who, bringing a capital charge against Miltiades before the people, prosecuted him on a charge of deceiving the Athenians. Miltiades, though present in person, made no defence; for he was unable, and his thigh had begun to mortify. But while he lay on a couch, his friends made a defence for him, dwelling much on the battle that had been fought at Marathon, and on the capture of Lemnos; since, having taken Lemnos, and inflicted vengeance on the Pelasgians, he had given it up to the Athenians. The people so far favoring him as to acquit him of the capital offence, and having fined him fifty talents for the injury he had done, Miltiades soon after ended his life by the putrefaction and mortification of his thigh. His son Cimon paid the fifty talents.

137. Miltiades, son of Cimon, had possessed himself of Lemnos in the following manner. The Pelasgians, when they had been driven out of Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or unjustly—(for this I am unable to determine, except so far as is related), Hecataeus, however, son of Hegesander, says in his history that it was "unjustly, for that, when the Athenians saw the lands under Hymettus, which they had given to the

Pelasgians in payment for the wall they had formerly built upon the Acropolis—when the Athenians saw this well cultivated, which was before barren and of no value, jealousy and a desire of the land took possession of them, and so the Athenians drove them out, without alleging any other pretence whatever.” But as the Athenians say, “they justly expelled them; for that the Pelasgians, while settled under Mount Hymettus, made incursions from thence, and committed the following injuries: for that their daughters and sons used constantly to go for water to the Nine Springs, because at that time neither they nor the other Greeks had domestic servants; and whenever the young women went there, the Pelasgians used, out of insolence and contempt, to offer violence to them; nor were they satisfied with doing this, but at last they were discovered in the very act of plotting to attack *the city*. *They add* that they themselves showed themselves so much better men than them, in that, when it was in their power to put the Pelasgians to death, since they had found them plotting against them, they would not do so, but warned them to depart the country; and that they, accordingly, withdrawing, possessed themselves of other places, and among them of Lemnos.” Hecataeus has given the former account, and the Athenians give the latter.

138. But these Pelasgians, who then inhabited Lemnos, and desired to be revenged on the Athenians, being well acquainted with the festivals of the Athenians, stationed fifty-oared galleys and laid an ambuscade for the Athenian women, as they celebrated the festival of Diana in Brauron, and having carried many of them away from thence, they sailed off, and taking them to Lemnos, kept them as concubines. But when these women were fully supplied with children, they instructed their sons in the Attic language and the manners of the Athenians; they, therefore, would not hold any intercourse with the sons of the Pelasgian women, but if any one of their number was beaten by one of them, they all immediately assisted, and revenged one another; moreover, these boys thought they had a

right to govern the other boys, and proved far superior to them. But the Pelasgians, observing this, consulted together, and, on consideration, considerable alarm came over them as to what these boys would do when they were grown up, if they already determined to assist each other against the sons of their lawful wives, and even now endeavored to rule over them. Thereupon they resolved to murder the children they had by the Attic women: and, accordingly, they did so, and, moreover, put their mothers to death. From this crime, and that which the women perpetrated before this, who, with the assistance of Thaos, killed their own husbands, all enormous actions are wont to be called Lemnian throughout Greece.

139. But when the Pelasgians had murdered their own children and women, neither did their land yield fruit, nor were their wives and flocks equally prolific as before; being, therefore, afflicted by famine and childlessness, they sent to Delphi to seek for some deliverance from their present distresses. But the Pythian bade them give such satisfaction to the Athenians as the Athenians themselves should impose. The Pelasgians, therefore, went to Athens, and professed themselves ready to give satisfaction for the whole injury. But the Athenians, having spread a couch in the Prytaneum in the handsomest way they were able, and having placed by it a table full of all sorts of good things, commanded the Pelasgians to surrender their country to them in such a condition. But the Pelasgians said, in answer, "When a ship shall perform the voyage in one day by the north wind from your country to ours, we will then deliver it up." This they said, supposing that it was impossible the thing should happen, because Attica lies far to the south of Lemnos.

140. This took place at that time. But very many years after this, when the Chersonese in the Hellespont became subject to the Athenians, Miltiades, son of Cimon, at a time when the Etesian winds prevailed, having performed the voyage in a ship from Elæus, on the Hellespont, to Lemnos, required the Pelasgians to quit the island reminding them of the oracle, which

the Pelasgians expected could never be accomplished. The Hephæstians accordingly obeyed; but the Myri-næans, not acknowledging the Chersonese to be Attica, were besieged until they also surrendered. Thus the Athenians and Miltiades got possession of Lemnos.

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA.

1. WHEN the news of the battle fought at Marathon reached Darius, son of Hystaspes, who was before much exasperated with the Athenians on account of the attack upon Sardis, he then became much more incensed, and was still more eager to prosecute the war against Greece. Having, therefore, immediately sent messengers to the several cities, he enjoined them to prepare an army, imposing on each a much greater number than they had furnished before, and ships, horses, corn, and transports. When these orders were proclaimed round about, Asia was thrown into agitation during the space of three years, the bravest men being enrolled and prepared for the purpose of invading Greece; but in the fourth year the Egyptians, who had been subdued by Cambyses, revolted from the Persians, whereupon Darius only became more eager to march against both.

2. When Darius was preparing for his expeditions against Egypt and Athens, a violent dissension arose between his sons concerning the sovereignty; for, by the customs of the Persians, he was obliged to nominate his successor before he marched out on any expedition. Now Darius, even before he became king, had three sons born to him by his former wife, the daughter of Gobryas; and after his accession to the throne, four others by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus. Of the former, Artabazanes was the eldest; of those after born, Xerxes: and these two, not being of the same mother, were at

variance. Artabazanes *urged* that he was the eldest of all the sons, and that it was the established usage among all men that the eldest son should succeed to the sovereignty. On the other hand, Xerxes *alleged* that he was son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and that it was Cyrus who had acquired freedom for the Persians.

3. When Darius had not yet declared his opinion, at this very conjuncture, Demaratus, son of Ariston, happened to come up to Susa, having been deprived of the kingly office at Sparta,¹ and having imposed on himself a voluntary exile from Lacedæmon. This man, having heard of the difference between the sons of Darius, went to Xerxes, as report says, and advised him to say, in addition to what he had already said, that "he was born to Darius after he had become a king, and was possessed of the empire of the Persians; whereas Artabazanes was born to Darius while he was yet a private person; wherefore it was not reasonable or just that any other should possess that dignity in preference to himself, since in Sparta, also," Demaratus continued to suggest, "this custom prevailed, that if some children were born before their father became king, and one was born subsequently when he had now come to the throne, this last-born son should succeed to the kingdom." Xerxes having availed himself of the suggestion of Demaratus, Darius, acknowledging that he said what was just, declared him king. But it appears to me that even without this suggestion Xerxes would have been made king, for Atossa had unbounded influence.

4. Darius, having appointed Xerxes to be king over the Persians, prepared to march. However, after these things, and in the year after the revolt of Egypt, it happened that Darius himself, while he was making preparations, died, having reigned thirty-six years in all; nor was he able to avenge himself either on the Egyptians, who had revolted, or on the Athenians. When Darius was dead, the kingdom devolved on his son Xerxes.

5. Xerxes, however, was at first by no means inclined

¹ See B. VI. chap. 70.

to make war against Greece, but he levied forces for the reduction of Egypt; but Mardonius, son of Gobryas, who was cousin to Xerxes, and son of Darius's sister, being present, and having the greatest influence with him of all the Persians, constantly held the following language, saying, "Sir, it is not right that the Athenians, having already done much mischief to the Persians, should go unpunished for what they have done. However, for the present, finish the enterprise you have in hand, and when you have quelled the insolence of Egypt, lead your army against Athens, that you may acquire a good reputation among men, and any one for the future may be cautious of marching against your territory." This language was used by him for the purposes of revenge, but he frequently made the following addition to it, that "Europe was a very beautiful country, and produced all kinds of cultivated trees, and was very fertile, and worthy to be possessed by the king alone of all mortals."

6. He spake thus, because he was desirous of new enterprises, and wished to be himself governor of Greece: in time he effected his purpose, and persuaded Xerxes to do as he advised, for other things happening favorably assisted him in persuading Xerxes. In the first place, messengers coming from Thessaly on the part of the Aleuadæ, invited the king, with earnest importunity, to invade Greece: these Aleuadæ, were kings of Thessaly; and, in the next place, those of the Pisistratidæ who had gone up to Susa, holding the same language as the Aleuadæ, still more eagerly pressed him, having with them Onomacritus, an Athenian, a soothsayer, and dispenser of the oracles of Musæus; for they went up to *Susa*, having first reconciled their former enemy *with him*; for Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, having been detected by Lasus the Hermionian in the very act of interpolating among the oracles of Musæus one importing that the islands lying off Lemnos would disappear beneath the sea: wherefore Hipparchus banished him, although he had before been very familiar with him. But at that time, having gone up with

them, whenever he came into the presence of the king, as the Pisistratidæ spoke of him in very high terms, he recited some of the oracles ; if, however, there was among them any that portended misfortune to the barbarians, of these he made no mention ; but, selecting such as were most favorable, he said it was fated that the Hellespont should be bridged over by a Persian, describing the march. Thus he continually assailed¹ *the king*, rehearsing oracles, as did the Pisistratidæ and Aleuadæ, by declaring their opinions.

7. When Xerxes was persuaded to make war against Greece, he then, in the second year after the death of Darius, first made an expedition against those who had revolted ; and, having subdued them and reduced all Egypt to a worse state of servitude than it was under Darius, he committed the government to Achæmenes, his own brother, and son of Darius. Some time after, Inarus,² son of Psammitichus, a Libyan, slew Achæmenes, to whom the government of Egypt was committed.

8. Xerxes, after the reduction of Egypt, when he was about to take in hand the expedition against Athens, convoked an assembly of the principal Persians, that he might both hear their opinions, and himself make known his intentions before them all. When they were assembled Xerxes addressed them as follows : (1.) "Men of Persia, I shall not be the first to introduce this custom among you, but shall adopt it, having received it from my forefathers ; for, as I learn from older men, we have never remained inactive since we wrested the sovereign power from the Medes, and Cyrus overthrew Astyages : but the deity thus leads the way, and to us who follow his guidance many things result to our advantage. What deeds Cyrus, and CambySES, and my father Darius have achieved, and what nations they have added to our empire, no one need mention to you who know them well ; but I, since I have succeeded to the throne, have carefully considered this, in what way I may not fall short of my predecessors in this honor,

¹ Or "conducted himself."

² See B. III. chap. 12.

nor acquire less additional power to the Persians. And, on mature consideration, I find that we may at once acquire an increase of glory, and a country not inferior nor poorer, but even more productive than that we now possess; and, at the same time, that satisfaction and vengeance will accrue to us. Wherefore I have now called you together, that I may communicate to you what I purpose to do. (2.) I intend to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, and to march an army through Europe against Greece, that I may punish the Athenians for the injuries they have done to the Persians and to my father. You have already seen Darius preparing to make war against those people; but he died, and had it not in his power to avenge himself. But I, in his cause and that of the other Persians, will not rest till I have taken and burned Athens, for they first began by doing acts of injustice against my father and me. First of all, having come to Sardis with Aristagoras the Milesian, our servant, on their arrival they burned down both the groves and the temples; and, secondly, how they treated us on our making a descent on their territory, when Datis and Artaphernes led our forces, you all know well enough. (3.) For these reasons, therefore, I have resolved to make war upon them; and, on reflection, I find the following advantages in this course: if we shall subdue them, and their neighbors, who inhabit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall make the Persian territory coextensive with the air of heaven; nor will the sun look down upon any land that borders on ours; but I, with your assistance, will make them all one territory, marching through the whole of Europe; for I am informed that such is the case; and that no city or nation of the world will remain, which will be able to come to a battle with us, when those whom I have mentioned have been brought into subjection. Thus both those who are guilty and those who are not guilty must equally submit to the yoke of servitude. (4.) But you, by doing what I require, will gratify me exceedingly; when I shall have informed you of the time, it will be the duty of each of you to come promptly; and whosoever shall

appear with the best-appointed troops, to him I will give such presents as are accounted most honorable in our country. But that I may not appear to follow my own counsel only, I lay the matter before you, bidding any one of you who wishes to declare his opinion." Having said this, he ceased.

9. After him Mardonius spoke: "Sir, not only are you the most excellent of all the Persians that have yet been, but even of all that ever shall be; you also, in other respects, have in speaking touched upon the most important topics and the most exact truth, and especially will not suffer the Ionians, who dwell in Europe, to mock us, worthless as they are; for it would indeed be a great indignity if, having subdued the Sacæ, Indians, Ethiopians, and Assyrians, and other nations, many and powerful, which never did the Persians any wrong, but, in order only to enlarge our dominions, we hold them in servitude, and yet shall not avenge ourselves on the Greeks, who were the first to commit injustice. Having what to fear? what confluence of numbers? what power of wealth? (1.) We are acquainted with their manner of fighting; and we are acquainted with their power, that it is weak. We hold their children in subjection, those who dwell within their territories, and are called Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians. I myself have made trial of these men already, marching against them at the command of your father; and when I advanced as far as Macedonia, and was within a short distance of reaching Athens itself, no one opposed me in battle. (2.) And yet the Greeks are accustomed, as I am informed, to undertake wars without deliberation, from obstinacy and folly; for when they have declared war against one another, having found out the fairest and most level spot, they go down to it and fight; so that the conquerors depart with great loss, and of the conquered I say nothing at all, for they are utterly destroyed; whereas, being of the same language, they ought, by the intervention of heralds and ambassadors, to adjust their differences, and in any way rather than by fighting; but if they must needs go to war with each other, they ought to find out where they

are each least likely to be conquered, and there try *the issue of a battle*. The Greeks accordingly, adopting a disadvantageous method, when I marched as far as Macedonia, never ventured so far as to come to a battle. (3.) Will any one, then, O king, have recourse to war, and oppose you, when you lead the multitudes of Asia, and all her ships? In my opinion, indeed, the Grecians will never proceed to such a degree of audacity. But if I should happen to be deceived in my opinion, and they, elated by folly, should come to battle with us, they will learn that of all men we are the most skilled in war. Let nothing, then, be untried; for nothing is accomplished of its own self, but all things are usually achieved by men through endeavors." Mardonius, having thus smoothed over the opinion of Xerxes, ceased to speak.

10. The rest of the Persians continuing silent, and not daring to declare an opinion to the one proposed, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, being uncle to Xerxes, and relying on this, spoke as follows: (1.) "O king, unless opinions opposite to each other are spoken, it is impossible to choose the better, but it becomes necessary to adopt that which has been advanced; whereas, when various opinions have been given, it is possible: just as with unalloyed gold, we cannot distinguish it by itself, but when we have rubbed it by the side of other gold, we do distinguish the better. I warned your father and my brother not to make war upon the Scythians,¹ a people who have no city in any part of their territory; but he, hoping to subdue the Scythian nomades, heeded not my advice, and, having led an army against them, returned with the loss of many brave men of his army. But you, O king, are about to make war upon men far superior to the Scythians, who are said to be most valiant both by sea and land; it is therefore right that I should inform you of the danger we have to fear. (2.) You say that, having thrown a bridge over the Hellespont, you will march an army through Europe into Greece; now it may happen that we shall be worsted either by land or by sea, or even by both, for the people are said

¹ See B. IV. ch. 83.

to be valiant; and this we may infer, since the Athenians alone destroyed so great an army that invaded the Attic territory under Datis and Artaphernes. They were not, however, successful in both; but if they should attack us with their fleet, and, having obtained a naval victory, should sail to the Hellespont and destroy the bridge, this surely, O king, were a great danger. (3.) Nor do I found this conjecture on any wisdom of my own, but from the calamity that once all but befell us, when your father, having joined the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, and thrown a bridge over the Ister, crossed over to attack the Scythians; then the Scythians used every means to induce the Ionians, to whom the guard of the passage over the Ister had been intrusted, to break up the bridge; and if, at that time, Histiaëus, tyrant of Miletus, had assented to the opinion of the other tyrants, and had not opposed it, the power of the Persians would have been utterly ruined. It is dreadful even to hear it said that the whole power of the king depended on a single man. (4.) Do not, therefore, willingly expose yourself to any such danger, when there is no necessity, but be persuaded by me; dismiss this assembly; and hereafter, whenever it shall seem fit to you, having considered with yourself, proclaim what appears to you to be most advantageous; for to deliberate well I find is the greatest gain; for if the result prove unfortunate, the matter has nevertheless been well deliberated on, but our deliberation is defeated by fortune; but he who has deliberated badly, if fortune attend him, has met with a success he had no right to expect, but has nevertheless formed bad plans. (5.) Do you see how the deity strikes with his thunder the tallest animals, and suffers them not to be ostentatious, but the smaller ones do not at all offend him? Do you see how he ever hurls his bolts against the loftiest buildings, and trees of the like kind? for the deity is wont to cut off everything that is too highly exalted. Thus even a large army is often defeated by a small one in such a manner as this: when the deity, through jealousy, strikes them with terror or lightning, whereby they perish in a manner unworthy of themselves; for the

deity will not suffer any one but himself to have high thoughts. (6.) Again, to hasten any matter produces failures, from whence great losses are wont to follow ; but in delay there are advantages, which, though not immediately apparent, yet one may discover after a time. This, then, O king, is the advice I give you. (7.) But do you, Mardonius, son of Gobryas, cease to speak vain words of the Grecians, who do not deserve to be spoken lightly of ; for by calumniating the Greeks you urge the king himself to lead an army against them ; and to this end you appear to me to exert all your efforts. But it may not so be ; for calumny is the worst of evils ; in it there are two who commit injustice, and one who is injured ; for he who calumniates another acts unjustly, by accusing one that is not present ; and he acts unjustly who is persuaded before he has learned the exact truth ; and he that is absent when the charge is made is thus doubly injured, being calumniated by the one, and by the other deemed to be base. (8.) But if, at all events, it must needs be that war must be made on these people, come, let the king himself remain in the abodes of the Persians ; let both of us risk our children, and do you lead the expedition, having selected what men you choose, and taken with you as large a force as you think fit ; and if matters succeed to the king in the manner you say, let my children be put to death, and me also with them ; but if the event prove such as I foretell, then let your children suffer the same, and you also with them, if ever you return. If, however, you are unwilling to submit to these terms, and will at all events lead an army against Greece, I affirm that some of those who are left in this country will hear that Mardonius, having brought some great disaster upon the Persians, and being torn in pieces by dogs and birds, either in the territory of the Athenians or in that of the Lacedæmonians, if not sooner on his march, has discovered¹ against what sort of men you now persuade the king to make war."

11. Artabanus thus spoke, but Xerxes, inflamed with

¹ Larcher, with whom Baehr appears to agree, refers γνόντα to τινα : in that case, the meaning of the passage being that "those

anger, answered as follows : " Artabanus, you are my father's brother ; this will protect you from receiving the just recompense of your foolish words. However, I will inflict this disgrace upon you, base and cowardly as you are, not to accompany me in my expedition against Greece, but to remain here with the women, and I, without your assistance, will accomplish all that I have said ; for I should not be sprung from Darius, son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes, son of Cyrus, son of Cambyzes, son of Achæmenes, if I did not avenge myself on the Athenians, knowing full well that if we continue quiet, yet they will not, but will even invade our territories, if we may conjecture from what has been already done by them, who have both burned Sardis and advanced into Asia ; wherefore it is not possible for either party to retreat, but the alternative lies before us, to do or suffer ; so that all these dominions must fall under the power of the Grecians, or all theirs under that of the Persians, for there is no medium in this enmity. It is, therefore, honorable for us, who have first suffered to take revenge, that I may also be informed of the danger to which I shall expose myself by marching against those men whom Pelops the Phrygian, who was a slave of my ancestors, so completely subdued that, even to this day, the people themselves and their country are called after the name of the conqueror."

12. These things were said so far, but afterward night came on and the opinion of Artabanus occasioned uneasiness to Xerxes, and deliberating with himself during the night, he clearly discovered that it would not be to his interest to make war on Greece : having thus altered his resolution, he fell asleep, and some time in the night he saw the following vision, as related by the Persians. Xerxes imagined that a tall and handsome man stood by him and said, " Do you, then, change your mind, O Persian, *and resolve* not to lead an army against Greece, after having ordered the Persians to

who remain at home will, when they hear of the disasters that have befallen Mardonius and the army, learn what an enemy they have had to contend with."

assemble their forces? You do not well to change your resolution, nor is there any man who will agree with you; therefore pursue that course which you resolved upon in the day." Xerxes thought that the man, having pronounced these words, flew away.

13. When day dawned he paid no attention to this dream, but having assembled those Persians whom he had before convened, he addressed them as follows: "Pardon me, O Persians, that I suddenly change my plans, for I have not yet attained to the highest perfection of judgment, and they who persuade me to this enterprise are never absent from me. When, therefore, I heard the opinion of Artabanus, my youth immediately boiled with rage against him, so that I threw out words more unbecoming than I ought to a person of his years; but now, conscious of my error, I will follow his advice: since, therefore, I have changed my resolution, *and determined* not to make war against Greece, do you remain quiet." The Persians, when they heard this, being transported with joy, did him homage.

14. When night came, the same dream, again standing by Xerxes as he slept, said, "Son of Darius, you have, then, openly renounced in the presence of the Persians, the intended expedition, and make no account of my words, as if you had not heard them from any one. Be well assured, however, of this, that unless you immediately undertake this expedition, this will be the consequence to you: as you have become great and powerful in a short time, so you shall become low again in an equally short space."

15. Xerxes being alarmed by this vision, rushed from his bed, and sent a messenger to call Artabanus; and when he came, Xerxes spoke to him as follows: "Artabanus, I on the moment was not in my senses when I used hasty words to you in return for your good advice; however, after no long time I repented, and acknowledged that those measures which you suggested ought to be adopted by me. I am not, however, able to perform them, though desirous of doing so; for, after I had altered my resolution and acknowledged my error, a dream frequently presents itself to me by no means

approving of my so doing ; and it has just now vanished after threatening me. If, then, it is a deity who sends this dream, and it is his pleasure that an expedition against Greece should at all events take place, this same dream will also flit before you, and give the same injunction as to me. This I think will happen, if you should take all my apparel, and, having put it on, should afterward sit on my throne, and then go to sleep in my bed."

16. Xerxes thus addressed him ; but Artabanus not obeying the first order, as he did not think himself worthy to sit on the royal throne, when he was at last compelled, did as he was desired, after he had spoken as follows: (1) "I deem it an equal merit, O king, to form good plans, and to be willing to yield to one who gives good advice ; and though both these qualities attach to you, the converse of wicked men leads you astray ; just as blasts of wind falling on the sea, which of all things is the most useful to mankind, do not suffer it to follow its proper nature. As for me, grief did not so much vex me at hearing your reproaches, as that when two opinions were proposed by the Persians, one tending to increase their arrogance, the other to check it, and to show how hurtful it is to teach the mind to be constantly seeking for more than we already possess ; that, when these two opinions were proposed, you should choose that which is more dangerous both to yourself and the Persians. (2) Now, however, after you have changed to the better resolution you say that since you have given up the expedition against the Greeks, a dream has come to you, sent by some god, which forbids you to abandon the enterprise. But these things, my son, are not divine, for dreams which wander among men are such as I will explain to you, being many years older than you are. Those visions of dreams most commonly hover around men *respecting things* which one has thought of during the day ; and we, during the preceding days have been very much busied about this expedition. (3.) If, however, this is not such as I judge, but has something divine in it, you have correctly summed up the whole in few words ; then let it appear

and give the same injunction to me as to you ; and it ought not to appear to me any the more for my having your apparel than my own ; nor the more because I go to sleep on your bed than on my own, if, indeed, it will appear at all ; for that which has appeared to you in your sleep, whatever it be, can never arrive at such a degree of simplicity as to suppose that when it sees me, it is you, conjecturing from your apparel ; but if it shall hold me in contempt, and not deign to appear to me, whether I be clothed in your robes or in my own, and if it shall visit you again, this indeed would deserve consideration ; for if it should repeatedly visit you, I should myself confess it to be divine. If, however, you have resolved that so it should be, and it is not possible to avert this, but I must needs sleep in your bed, well, when this has been done, let it appear also to me. But till that time I shall persist in my present opinion."

17. Artabanus, having spoken thus, and hoping to show that Xerxes had said nothing of any moment, did what was ordered ; and having put on the apparel of Xerxes, and sat on the royal throne, when he afterward went to bed, the same dream which had appeared to Xerxes came to him when he was asleep, and standing over Artabanus, spoke as follows : " Art thou, then, the man who dissuadeth Xerxes from invading Greece, as if thou wert very anxious for him ? But neither hereafter nor at present shalt thou escape unpunished for endeavoring to avert what is fated to be. What Xerxes must suffer if he continues disobedient has been declared to him himself."

18. Artabanus imagined that the dream uttered these threats, and was about to burn out his eyes with hot irons. He therefore, having uttered a loud shriek, leaped up, and seating himself by Xerxes, when he had related all the particulars of the vision in the dream, spoke to him in this manner : " I, O king, being a man who have seen already many and great powers overthrown by inferior ones, would not suffer you to yield entirely to youth ; knowing how mischievous it is to desire much, calling to mind the expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetæ, how it fared, and calling to mind also

that of Cambyses against the Ethiopians, and having accompanied Darius in the invasion of Scythia, knowing all these things, I was of opinion that if you remained quiet, you must be pronounced happy by all men ; but since some divine impulse has sprung up, and, as it seems, some heaven-sent destruction impends over the Greeks, I myself am converted and change my opinion. Do you, then, make known to the Persians the intimation sent by the deity, and command them to follow the orders first given by you for the preparations ; and act so, that since the deity permits, nothing on your part may be wanting." When he had thus spoken, both being carried away by the vision, as soon as it was day Xerxes acquainted the Persians with what had happened ; and Artabanus, who before was the only man who greatly opposed the expedition, now as openly promoted it.

19. After this, when Xerxes was resolved to undertake the expedition, another vision appeared to him in his sleep, which the magi, when they heard it, interpreted to relate to the whole world, and to *signify* that all mankind should serve him. The vision was as follows : Xerxes imagined that he was crowned with the sprig of an olive-tree, and that branches from this olive covered the whole earth ; and that afterward the crown that was placed on his head disappeared. The magi having given this interpretation, every one of the Persians, who were then assembled, departed immediately to his own government, and used all diligence to execute what had been ordered ; every man hoping to obtain the proposed reward. Xerxes thus levied his army, searching out every region of the continent.

20. For from the reduction of Egypt, he was employed four whole years in assembling his forces, and providing things necessary for the expedition. In the course of the fifth year he began his march with a vast multitude of men ; for of the expeditions with which we are acquainted, this was by far the greatest, so that that of Darius against the Scythians appears nothing in comparison with this, nor the Scythian, when the Scythians pursuing the Cimmerians, and invading the Medio

territory, subdued almost the whole of the upper part of Asia, on account of which Darius afterward attempted to inflict vengeance on them; nor, according to what is related, that of the Atridæ against Ilium; nor that of the Mysians and Teucrians, which took place before the Trojan war, who, having passed over into Europe by the Bosphorus, subdued all the Thracians, and went down to the Ionian Sea, and marched southward as far as the river Peneus.

21. All these expeditions, and any others, if there have been any besides them, are not to be compared with this one. For what nation did not Xerxes lead out of Asia against Greece? what stream, being drunk, did not fail him, except that of great rivers? Some supplied ships; others were ordered to furnish men for the infantry, from others cavalry were required, from others transports for horses, together with men to serve in the army; others had to furnish long ships for the bridges, and others provisions and vessels.

22. And first of all, as those who had first attempted to double Mount Athos had met with disasters, preparations were being made for nearly three years about Athos; for triremes were stationed at Eleus in the Chersonese, and proceeding from thence, men of every nation from the army dug under the lash; and they went in succession; and the people who dwelt round Athos dug also. Bubares, son of Megabazus, and Artachæus, son of Artæus, both Persians, presided over the work. Athos is a vast and celebrated mountain, stretching into the sea, and inhabited by men. Where the mountain terminates toward the continent, it is in the form of a peninsula, and is an isthmus of about twelve stades: this is a plain with hills of no great height from the sea of the Acanthians to the sea which is opposite Torone. On this isthmus, in which Mount Athos terminates, stands Sana, a Grecian city; but those within Sana, and situate on Athos itself, which the Persian then was proceeding to make insular instead of continental, are the following, Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssus, and Cleonæ. These are the cities which occupy Mount Athos.

23. They made the excavation as follows: the barbarians divided the ground among the several nations, having drawn a straight line near the city of Sana; and when the trench was deep, some standing at the bottom continued to dig, and others handed the soil that was dug out to men who stood above on ladders; they again in turn handed it to others, until they reached those that were at the top; these last carried it off and threw it away. To all the rest, except the Phoenicians, the brink of the excavation falling in gave double labor, for as they made the upper opening and the lower of equal dimensions, this must necessarily happen. But the Phoenicians show their skill in other works, and especially *did so* in this; for having received the portion that fell to their share, they dug it, making the upper opening of the trench twice as large as it was necessary for the trench itself to be; and as the work proceeded, they contracted it gradually, so that when they came to the bottom, the work was equal in width to the rest: near adjoining is a meadow, where they had a market and bazar, and great abundance of meal was brought to them from Asia.

24. According to my deliberate opinion,¹ Xerxes ordered this excavation to be made from motives of ostentation wishing to display his power, and to leave a memorial of himself; for though it was possible, without any great labor, to have drawn the ships over the isthmus, he commanded them to dig a channel for the sea of such a width that two triremes might pass through rowed abreast. And the same persons, to whom the excavation was committed, were ordered also to throw a bridge over the river Strymon.

25. These things, then, he thus contrived: he also caused cables of papyrus and of white flax to be prepared for the bridges, having ordered the Phoenicians and Egyptians also to lay up provisions for the army, that neither the men nor the beasts of burden might suffer from famine on their march toward Greece; and having informed himself of the situations of the

¹ Literally, "as I conjecturing discover."

places, he ordered them to lay up the provisions where it was most convenient, conveying them to various quarters in merchant-ships and transports from all parts of Asia. Of these provisions the largest quantity they conveyed to a place called Leuce-Acte, in Thrace; some were ordered to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians, others to Doriscus, others to Eion on the Strymon, and others to Macedonia.

26. While these men were employed in their appointed task, the whole land forces, having been assembled, marched with Xerxes to Sardis, having sat out from Critalla in Cappadocia, for it was ordered that all the troops throughout the continent, that were to march with Xerxes himself, should be assembled at that place. Now which of the generals, bringing the best-appointed troops, received the gifts promised by the king, I am unable to mention; for I am not at all aware that they came to any decision on this point. They then, when having crossed the river Halys they entered Phrygia, marching through that country, arrived at Celænæ, where rise the springs of the Mæander, and of another river not less than the Mæander, which is called the Catarractes, which, springing up in the very forum of the Celæniæ, discharges itself into the Mæander; in this city, also, the skin of Silenus Marsyas is suspended, which, as the Phrygians report, was stripped off and suspended by Apollo.

27. In this city Pythius, son of Atys, a Lydian, being in waiting, entertained the whole army of the king and Xerxes himself with most sumptuous feasts; and he offered money, wishing to contribute toward the expense of the war. When Pythius offered money, Xerxes asked the Persians near him who this Pythius was, and what riches he possessed, that he made such an offer. They answered, "O king, this is the person who presented your father Darius with the golden plane-tree and the vine; and he is now the richest man we know of in the world, next to yourself."

28. Xerxes, surprised with these last words, next asked Pythius what might be the amount of his wealth. He said, "O king, I will not conceal it from you, nor will I

pretend to be ignorant of my own substance, but as I know it perfectly I will tell you the exact truth. As soon as I heard you were coming down to the Grecian sea, wishing to present you with money for the war I made inquiry, and found by computation that I had two thousand talents of silver, and of gold four millions of Daric staters, all but seven thousand. These I freely give you; for myself, I have sufficient subsistence from my slaves and lands."

29. Thus he spoke; but Xerxes, delighted with his offer, replied: "My Lydian friend, since I left the Persian country I have met with no man to the present moment who was willing to entertain my army, or who, having come into my presence, has voluntarily offered to contribute money toward the war. But you have entertained my army magnificently and have offered me vast sums; therefore, in return for this, I confer on you the following rewards: I make you my friend, and will make up the sum of four millions of staters from my own treasures, by adding the seven thousand; so that the four millions may not be short of seven thousand, but the full sum may be completed by me. Do you retain what you have acquired, and be careful always to continue such as you are; for if you do this you shall never repent, either now or hereafter."

30. Having said this, and performed his promises, he continued his march; and passing by a city of the Phrygians called Anaua, and a lake from which salt is obtained, he arrived at Colossæ, a considerable city of Phrygia, in which the river Lycus, falling into a chasm of the earth, disappears; then reappearing after a distance of about five stades, it also discharges itself into the Mæander. From Colossæ the army, advancing toward the boundaries of the Phrygians and Lydians, arrived at the city of Cydrara, where a pillar, planted in the ground, and erected by Croesus, indicates the boundaries by an inscription.

31. When from Phrygia he entered Lydia, the way dividing into two, that on the left leading to Caria, the other on the right to Sardis, by which latter a traveller is compelled to cross the river Mæander, and to pass by

the city of Callatebus, in which confectioners make honey with tamarisk and wheat; Xerxes, going by this way, met with a plane-tree, which, on account of its beauty, he presented with golden ornaments, and, having committed it to the care of one of the immortals,¹ on the next day he arrived at Sardis, the capital of the Lydians.

32. On his arrival at Sardis, he first of all sent heralds to Greece to demand earth and water, and to require them to provide entertainment for the king; except that he did not send either to Athens or Lacedæmon,² but he did to every other place. And he sent the second time for earth and water for the following reason; such as had not given them before when Darius sent, he thought would then certainly do so through fear; wishing, therefore, to know this for certain, he sent. And after this he prepared to march to Abydos.

33. In the meanwhile, those who were appointed had joined the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. There is in the Chersonese on the Hellespont, between the city of Sestos and Madytus, a craggy shore extending into the sea, directly opposite Abydos: there, not long after these events, under Xanthippus, son of Aripbron, a general of the Athenians, having taken Artayctes, a Persian, governor of Sestos, they impaled him alive against a plank; for he, having brought women into the temple of Protesilaus at Elæus, committed atrocious crimes.³

34. To this shore, then, beginning at Abydos, they, on whom this task was imposed, constructed bridges, the Phœnicians one with white flax, and the Egyptians the other with papyrus. The distance from Abydos to the opposite shore is seven stades. When the strait was thus united, a violent storm arising, broke in pieces and scattered the whole work.

35. When Xerxes heard of this, being exceedingly indignant, he commanded that the Hellespont should be

¹ One of the ten thousand chosen men called immortals, of whom we shall hear more hereafter. See chap. 83.

² See chap. 133.

³ See B. IX. chap. 116.

stricken with three hundred lashes with a scourge, and that a pair of fetters should be let down into the sea. I have moreover heard that with them he likewise sent branding instruments to brand the Hellespont. He certainly charged those who flogged the waters to utter these barbarous and impious words: "Thou bitter water! thy master inflicts this punishment upon thee, because thou hast injured him, although thou hadst not suffered any harm from him; and king Xerxes will cross over thee, whether thou wilt or not; it is with justice that no man sacrifices to thee, because thou art both a deceitful and briny river!" He accordingly commanded them to chastise the sea in this manner, and to cut off the heads of those who had to superintend the joining of the Hellespont.

36. They on whom this thankless office was imposed, carried it into execution; and other engineers constructed bridges; and they constructed them in the following manner. They connected together penteconters and triremes, under that toward the Euxine sea, three hundred and sixty; and under the other, three hundred and fourteen, obliquely in respect of the Pontus, but in the direction of the current in respect of the Hellespont, that it might keep up the tension of the cables. Having connected them together, they let down very long anchors, some on the one bridge toward the Pontus, on account of the winds that blew from it within; others on the other bridge toward the west and the Ægean, on account of the south and south-east winds. They left an opening as a passage through between the penteconters, and that in three places, that any one who wished might be able to sail into the Pontus in light vessels, and from the Pontus outward. Having done this, they stretched the cables from the shore, twisting them with wooden capstans, not as before using the two kinds separately, but assigning to each two of white flax and four of papyrus. The thickness and quality was the same, but those of flax were stronger in proportion, every cubit weighing a full talent. When the passage was bridged over, having sawn up trunks of trees, and having made them equal to the width of the bridge,

they laid them regularly upon the extended cables; and having laid them in regular order, they then fastened them together. And having done this, they put brush-wood on the top; and having laid the brush-wood in regular order, they put earth over the whole; and having pressed down the earth, they drew a fence on each side, that the beasts of burden and horses might not be frightened by looking down upon the sea.

37. When the works at the bridges were completed, and those at Mount Athos, as well as the mounds at the mouths of the canal, which had been made on account of the tide, in order that the mouths of the trench might not be choked up, and news was brought that the canal was entirely completed; thereupon the army, having wintered at Sardis, and being fully prepared, set out at the beginning of the spring from thence toward Abydos. But as it was on the point of setting out, the sun, quitting his seat in the heavens, disappeared, though there were no clouds, and the air was perfectly serene, and night ensued in the place of day. When Xerxes saw and perceived this, it occasioned him much uneasiness; he therefore inquired of the magi what the prodigy might portend. They answered that "the deity foreshows to the Greeks the extinction of their cities;" adding, "that the sun is the portender of the future to the Greeks, and the moon to the Persians." Xerxes, having heard this, was much delighted, and set out upon his march.

38. As he was leading his army away, Pythius the Lydian, terrified by the prodigy in the heavens, and emboldened by the gifts, went to Xerxes the king, and spoke thus: "Sire, would you indulge me by granting a boon I should wish to obtain, which is easy for you to grant, and of great importance to me." Xerxes, expecting that he would wish for anything rather than what he did ask, said that he would grant his request, and bade him declare what he wanted; whereupon he, when he heard this, spoke confidently as follows: "Sire, I have five sons; and it happens that they are all attending you in the expedition against Greece. But do you, O king, pity me, who am thus advanced in years, and

release one of my sons from the service, that he may take care of me and my property. Take the other four with you, and, having accomplished your designs, may you return home."

39. Xerxes was highly incensed, and answered as follows: "Base man! hast thou dared, when I am marching in person against Greece, and taking with me my children, and brothers, and kinsmen, and friends, to make mention of thy son? thou, who art my slave, and who wert bound in duty to follow me with all thy family, even with thy wife. Now learn this well, that the spirit of man dwells in his ears; which, when it hears pleasing things, fills the whole body with delight, but when it hears the contrary, swells with indignation. When, therefore, you did well, and gave promise of the like, you cannot boast of having surpassed the king in generosity; but now that you have adopted a more shameless conduct, you shall not receive your deserts, but less than your deserts; for your hospitality preserves four of your children, but you shall be punished with the loss of the one whom you cherish most." When he had given this answer, he immediately commanded those whose office it was to execute such orders, to find out the eldest of the sons of Pythius, and to cut his body in two; and having so done, to deposit the halves, one on the right of the road, the other on the left; and that the army should pass between them.

40. When they had done this, the army afterward passed between. The baggage-bearers and beasts of burden first led the way; after them *came* a host of all nations promiscuously, not distinguished: after more than one half of the army had passed, an interval was left, that they might not mix with the king's troops. Before him a thousand horsemen led the van, chosen from among all the Persians; and next to them a thousand spearmen, those also chosen from among all, carrying their lances turned downward to the earth. After these *came* ten sacred horses called Nisæan, gorgeously caparisoned. These horses are called Nisæan on the following account: there is a large plain in the Medic territory which is called the Nisæan; now

this plain produces these large horses. Behind these ten horses was placed the sacred chariot of Jupiter, drawn by eight white horses; behind the horses followed a charioteer on foot, holding the reins; because no mortal ever ascends this seat. Behind this *came* Xerxes himself, on a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses; and a charioteer walked at his side, whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes, a Persian.

41. In this manner, then, Xerxes marched out of Sardis, and whenever he thought right, he used to pass from the chariot to a covered carriage. Behind him *marched* a thousand spearmen, the bravest and most noble of the Persians, carrying their spears in the usual manner; and after them another body of a thousand horse, chosen from among the Persians: after the cavalry *came* ten thousand men chosen from the rest of the Persians; these were infantry; and of these, one thousand had golden pomegranates on their spears instead of ferules, and they inclosed the others all round; but the nine thousand, being within them, had silver pomegranates. Those also that carried their spears turned to the earth had golden pomegranates, and those that followed nearest to Xerxes had golden apples. Behind the ten thousand foot were placed ten thousand Persian cavalry; and after the cavalry was left an interval of two stades; and then the rest of the throng followed promiscuously.

42. The army directed its march from Lydia to the river Caicus and the Mysian territory; and proceeding from the Caicus, leaving Mount Canæ on the left, *passed* through Atarneus to the city Carina. From thence it marched through the plain of Thebes, and passing by the city of Adramyttium and the Pelasgian Antrandus, and keeping Mount Ida on the left, it entered the territory of Ilium. But before this, as the army halted during the night under Mount Ida, thunder and lightning fell upon them, and destroyed a considerable number of the troops on the spot.

43. When the army arrived at the Scamander, which was the first river since they had set out on their *march* from Sardis, whose stream failed and did not

afford sufficient drink for the army and beasts of burden ; when, accordingly, Xerxes arrived at this river, he went up to the Pergamus¹ of Priam, being desirous of seeing it ; and having seen it, and inquired into every particular, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Ilian Minerva, and the magi poured out libations to the honor of the heroes. After they had done this, a panic fell on the camp during the night, and at the dawn of day they marched from thence, on the left skirting the city of Rhoetium, and Ophrynum, and Dardanus, which borders on Abydos, and on the right the Gergithæ Teucrians.

44. When they were at Abydos, Xerxes wished to behold the whole army ; and there had been previously erected on a hill at this place, for his express use, a lofty throne of white marble ; the people of Abydos had made it, in obedience to a previous order of the king. When he was seated there, looking down toward the shore, he beheld both the land army and the fleet ; and when he beheld them, he desired to see a contest take place between the ships ; and when it had taken place, and the Sidonian Phœnicians were victorious, he showed himself exceedingly gratified both with the contest and the army.

45. And when he saw the whole Hellespont covered by the ships, and all the shores and the plains of Abydos full of men, Xerxes thereupon pronounced himself happy, but afterward shed tears.

46. Artabanus, his paternal uncle, having observed him, the same who had before freely declared his opinion, and advised Xerxes not to invade Greece ; this man, having perceived Xerxes shedding tears, addressed him thus : “ O king, how very different from each other are what you are now doing and what you did a little while ago ! for having pronounced yourself happy, now you weep.” He answered, “ Commiseration seized me when I considered how brief all human life is, since of these, numerous as they are, not one shall survive to the hundredth year.” But Artabanus replied, saying, “ We suffer during life other things more pitiable than this ;

¹ That is, “ the citadel.”

for in this so brief life, there is not one, either of these or of others, born so happy, that it will not occur to him, not only once but oftentimes, to wish rather to die than to live; for calamities befalling him, and diseases disturbing him, make life, though really short, appear to be long; so that death, life being burdensome, becomes the most desirable refuge for man; and the deity, having given us to taste of sweet existence, is found to be jealous of his gift."

47. Xerxes answered, saying, "Artabanus, of human life, which is such as you have described it, let us say no more, nor let us call evils to mind, now that we have good things before us. But tell me this: if the vision of the dream had not appeared so clearly, would you have retained your former opinion, and dissuaded me from making war against Greece, or would you have changed your opinion? Come, tell me this explicitly." He answered, saying, "O king, may the vision of the dream that appeared terminate as we both desire; but I am still full of alarm, and not master of myself, when I consider many other circumstances, and, moreover, perceive two things of the greatest importance most hostile to you."

48. To this Xerxes answered as follows: "Strange man! what are these two things which you say are most hostile to me? whether do you find fault with the land army on account of numbers, and do you think that the Grecian army will be much more numerous than ours, or that our navy will fall short of theirs? or both these together? for, if you think our forces deficient in this respect, we can quickly assemble another army."

49. He answered, saying, "O king, no man of common understanding can find fault either with this army or the number of the ships. (1.) But even if you should muster more, the two things which I mean would become still more hostile. These two things are land and sea; for, as I conjecture, there is nowhere any harbor of the sea so large as to be capable, in case a storm should arise, of receiving this your navy, and sheltering the ships. And yet there is need, not only that there be one such harbor, but *others* along the whole con-

tinent, by which you are about to coast. Since there are not harbors sufficiently capacious, remember that accidents rule men, not men accidents. (2.) One of the two things having thus been mentioned, I now proceed to mention the other. The land will be hostile to you in this way: if nothing else should stand in your way, it will become more hostile to you the farther you advance, as you are continually drawn on unawares; for men are never satiated with success; and even if I should grant that no one will oppose you, I say that the country, becoming more extensive in process of time, will produce a famine. A man would therefore thus prove himself most wise if in deliberation he should be apprehensive, and consider himself likely to suffer every misfortune, but in action should be bold."

50. Xerxes answered in these words: "Artabanus, you have discussed each of these particulars plausibly; but do not fear everything, nor weigh every circumstance with equal strictness. (1.) For if, in every matter that is proposed, you should weigh everything with equal care, you would never do anything at all; it is better, being confident on all occasions, to suffer half the evils, than, fearing everything beforehand, never suffer anything at all; but if you oppose everything that is proposed, and do not advance something certain, you must fail in your plans equally with the person who has given a contrary opinion. This, therefore, comes to the same. (2.) Can any one who is a man know for a certainty what ought to be done?¹ I think certainly not. To those, however, who are ready to act, gain for the most part is wont to accrue; but to those that weigh everything and are timid, it seldom does. You see to what a degree of power the empire of the Persians has advanced; if, then, they who were kings before me had entertained such opinions as you do, or, not entertaining such opinions, had such counsellors, you would never have seen their power advanced to this pitch. But now, by hazarding dangers, they

¹ I have followed the reading and punctuation of Matthiæ and Baehr. The latter, though he approves the mark of interrogation, omits it in his version of this passage.

carried it to this height ; for great undertakings are wont to be accomplished at great hazards. We, therefore, emulating them, set out at the most favorable season of the year, and having subdued all Europe, will return home, without having met with famine anywhere, or suffered any other reverse ; for, in the first place, we march, carrying with us abundant provisions, and, in the next place, whatever land and nation we invade, we shall have their corn ; and we are making war on men who are husbandmen, and not feeders of cattle."

51. After this Artabanus said, " O king, since you will not allow us to fear anything, yet hearken to my advice ; for it is necessary, when speaking on many topics, to extend one's discourse. Cyrus, son of Cambyses, subdued all Ionia except the Athenians, so as to be tributary to the Persians. I advise you, therefore, on no account to lead these men against their fathers ; for even without them we are able to get the better of our enemies ; for if they accompany you, they must either be most unjust in assisting to enslave their mother-city, or most just in endeavoring to maintain its freedom. Now if they should be most unjust, they will not add any great gain to us ; but if just, they are able to damage your army to a great degree. Consider, therefore, on this ancient saying, since it has been well said, that the termination is not always evident at the beginning."

52. To this Xerxes answered, " Artabanus, of all the opinions you have given, you are deceived most in this, in fearing lest the Ionians should desert us ; of whom we have the strongest proofs, and of whom you are a witness, as well as all the rest who accompanied Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, that the whole Persian army was in their power to destroy or to save, yet they evinced justice and fidelity, and *committed* nothing ungrateful. Besides this, since they have left their children, and wives, and possessions in our territories, we must not expect that they will form any new design. Do not, therefore, fear this, but be of good courage, and preserve my house and my government ; for to you alone, of all men, I intrust my sceptre."

53. Having spoken thus, and despatched Artabanus to Susa, Xerxes again summoned the most distinguished of the Persians, and when they were assembled he addressed them as follows: "O Persians, I have called you together to desire this of you, that you would acquit yourselves like brave men, and not disgrace the former exploits of the Persians, which are great and memorable; but let each and all of us together show our zeal, for this which we are endeavoring to accomplish is a good common to all. On this account, then, I call on you to apply yourselves earnestly to the war; for, as I am informed, we are marching against brave men; and if we conquer them, no other army in the world will dare to oppose us. Now, then, let us cross over, having first offered up prayers to the gods who protect the Persian territory."

54. That day they made preparations for the passage over; and on the following they waited for the sun, as they wished to see it rising, in the mean time burning all sorts of perfumes on the bridges, and strewing the road with myrtle branches. When the sun rose, Xerxes, pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, offered up a prayer to the sun that no such accident might befall him as would prevent him from subduing Europe until he had reached its utmost limits. After having prayed, he threw the cup into the Hellespont, and a golden bowl, and a Persian sword, which they call *acinace*; but I cannot determine with certainty whether he dropped these things into the sea as an offering to the sun, or whether he repented of having scourged the Hellespont, and presented these gifts to the sea as a compensation.

55. When these ceremonies were finished, the infantry and all the cavalry crossed over by that bridge which was toward the Pontus, and the beasts of burden and attendants by that toward the *Ægean*. First of all, the ten thousand Persians led the van, all wearing crowns, and after them the promiscuous host of all nations. These crossed on that day. On the following, first the horsemen, and those who carried their lances downward: these also wore crowns; next came the sacred

horses and the sacred chariot ; afterward Xerxes himself, and the spearmen, and the thousand horsemen ; after them the rest of the army closed the march, and at the same time the ships got under weigh to the opposite shore. I have also heard that Xerxes crossed over last of all.

56. Xerxes, when he had crossed over into Europe, saw the army crossing over under the lash : his army crossed over in seven days and seven nights without halting at all. On this occasion, it is related that when Xerxes had crossed over the Hellespont, a certain Hellespontine said, “ O Jupiter, why, assuming the form of a Persian, and taking the name of Xerxes, do you wish to subvert Greece, bringing all mankind with you, since without them it was in your power to do this ? ”

57. When all had crossed over and were proceeding on their march, a great prodigy appeared to them, which Xerxes took no account of, although it was easy to be interpreted. A mare foaled a hare : this, then, might easily have been interpreted thus : that Xerxes was about to lead an army into Greece with exceeding pomp and magnificence, but would return to the same place running for his life. Another prodigy had also happened while he was at Sardis : a mule brought forth a colt with double parts, both those of a male and those of a female : those of the male were uppermost.

58. But, taking no account of either of these, he proceeded forward, and with him the land forces ; but the fleet, sailing out of the Hellespont, stood along by the land, taking a contrary course to that of the army ; for it sailed toward the west, steering for cape Sarpedon, where, on its arrival, it was ordered to wait ; but the army on the continent marched toward the east and the rising sun, through the Chersonese, having on the right hand the sepulchre of Helle, daughter of Athamas, and on the left the city of Cardia, and going through the middle of a city, the name of which happened to be Agora ; and from thence, bending round a bay called Melas, and having come to the river Melas, whose stream did not suffice for the army, but failed—having

crossed this river, from which the bay derives its name, they marched westward, passing by Ænos, an Æolian city, and the lake Stentoris, until they reached Doriscus.

59. Doriscus is a shore and extensive plain of Thrace. Through it flows a large river, the Hebrus. On it a royal fort had been built, the same that is now called Doriscus, and a Persian garrison had been established in it by Darius from the time that he marched against the Scythians. This place, therefore, appeared to Xerxes to be convenient for reviewing and numbering his army; this accordingly he did. All the ships, therefore, having arrived at Doriscus, the captains, at the command of Xerxes, brought them to the shore adjoining Doriscus. On this coast stood Sala, a Samothracian city, and Zona, and at its extremity Serrhium, a celebrated promontory: this region formerly belonged to the Ciconians. Having steered to this shore, they hauled up the ships and repaired them, and in the mean time Xerxes numbered his army at Doriscus.

60. How great a number of men each contributed I am unable to say with certainty, for it is not mentioned by any one, but the amount of the whole land forces was found to be seventeen hundred thousand. They were computed in this manner: having drawn together ten thousand men in one place, and having crowded them as close together as it was possible, they traced a circle on the outside, and having traced it, and removed the ten thousand, they threw up a stone fence on the circle, reaching to the height of a man's navel. Having done this, they made others enter within the inclosed space, until they had in this manner computed all, and having numbered them, they drew out according to nations.

61. Those who served in this expedition were the following. The Persians, equipped as follows: on their heads they wore loose coverings, called tiaras: on the body, various-colored sleeved breastplates, with iron scales like those of fish; and on their legs, loose trousers; and, instead of shields, bucklers made of osiers; and under them their quivers were hung. They had short spears, long bows, and arrows made of cane; and, besides, daggers suspended from the girdle on the right thigh.

They had for their general Otanes, father of Amestris, wife of Xerxes. They were formerly called Cephenees by the Grecians, but by themselves and neighbors Artæans; but when Perseus, son of Danae and Jupiter, came to Cepheus, son of Belus, and married his daughter Andromeda, he had a son to whom he gave the name of Perses; and him he left in the country, for Cepheus had no male offspring; from him, therefore, they derived their appellation.

62. The Medes marched equipped in the same manner as the Persians, for the above is a Medic and not a Persian costume. The Medes had for their general Tigranes, of the family of the Achæmenidæ: they were formerly called Arians by all nations, but when Medea of Colchis came from Athens to these Arians, they also changed their names: the Medes themselves give this account of their nation. The Cissians, who served in the army, were in other respects accoutred like the Persians, except that, instead of turbans, they wore mitres. Anaphes, son of Otanes, commanded the Cissians. The Hyrcanians were also armed like the Persians, and had for their general Megapanus, who was afterward governor of Babylon.

63. The Assyrians who served in the army had helmets of brass, twisted in a barbarous manner not easy to be described, and they had shields, and spears, and daggers similar to those of the Egyptians, and, besides, wooden clubs knotted with iron, and linen cuirasses. By the Greeks they were called Syrians, but by the barbarians. Assyrians. Among them were the Chaldeans, and Otaspes, son of Artachæus commanded them.

64. The Bactrians joined the army, having turbans on their heads very much like those of the Medes, and bows made of cane peculiar to their country, and short spears. The Sacæ, who are Scythians, had on their heads caps which came to a point and stood erect; they also wore loose trousers, and carried bows peculiar to their country, and daggers, and also battle-axes called sagares. These, though they are Amyrgian Scythians, they called Sacæ, for the Persians call all the Scythians Sacæ. Hystaspes, son of Darius and Atossa,

daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and Sacæ.

65. The Indians, clad with garments made of cotton, had bows of cane and arrows of cane tipped with iron. Thus the Indians were equipped, and they were marshalled under the command of Phanazathres, son of Artabates.

66. The Arians were furnished with Medic bows, and in other respects *were accoutred* like the Bactrians, Sisamnes, son of Hydarnes, commanded the Arians. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadicæ joined the army, having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians. The following leaders commanded them. Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, *commanded* the Parthians and Chorasmians; Azanes, son of Artæus, the Sogdians; and Artyphius, son of Artabanus, the Gandarians and Dadicæ.

67. The Caspians, clothed in goatskin mantles, and carrying bows made of cane peculiar to their country, and cimeters, joined the expedition. These were thus equipped, having for their general Ariomardus, brother of Artyphius. The Sarangæ were conspicuous by having dyed garments; they also wore buskins reaching up to the knee, and had bows and Medic javelins. Pherendates, son of Megabazus, commanded the Sarangæ. The Pactyes also, wore goatskin mantles, and had bows peculiar to the country and daggers. The Pactyes had for their general Artyntes, son of Ithamitres.

68. The Utians, Mycians, and Paricanians were equipped like the Pactyes. The following leaders commanded them. Arsamenes, son of Darius, led the Utians and Mycians; and Siromitres, son of Œobazus, the Paricanians.

69. The Arabians wore cloaks fastened by a girdle, and carried on their right sides long bows which bent backward. The Ethiopians were clothed in panthers' and lions' skins, and carried long bows, not less than four cubits in length, made from branches of the palm-tree; and on them *they placed* short arrows made of cane, instead of iron, tipped with a stone, which was

made sharp, and of that sort on which they engraved seals. Besides, they had javelins, and at the tip was an antelope's horn, made sharp like a lance; they had also knotted clubs. When they were going to battle, they smeared one half of their body with chalk, and the other half with red ochre. The Arabians and Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt were commanded by Arsames, son of Darius and Artystone, daughter of Cyrus whom Darius loved more than all his wives, and whose image he had made of beaten gold.

70. The Ethiopians from the sunrise (for two kinds served in the expedition) were marshalled with the Indians, and did not at all differ from the others in appearance, but only in their language and their hair; for the eastern Ethiopians are straight-haired, but those of Libya have hair more curly than that of any other people. These Ethiopians from Asia were accoutred almost the same as the Indians; but they wore on their heads skins of horses' heads as masks, stripped off with the ears and mane; and the mane served instead of a crest, and the horses' ears were fixed erect; and as defensive armor they used the skins of cranes instead of shields.

71. The Libyans marched clad in leathern garments, and made use of javelins hardened by fire. They had for their general Massages, son of Oarizus.

72. The Paphlagonians joined the expedition, wearing on their heads plaited helmets, and carried small shields, and not large spears, and, besides, javelins and daggers; and on their feet they wore boots, peculiar to their country, reaching up to the middle of the leg. The Ligyes and the Matienians, the Mariandynians and Syrians, marched in the same dress as the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are called by the Persians Cappadocians. Now Dotus, son of Megasidrus, commanded the Paphlagonians and Matienians; and Gobryas, son of Darius and Artystone, the Mariandynians, Ligyes, and Syrians.

73. The Phrygians had very nearly the same dress as that of Paphlagonia, varying it a little. The Phryg-

ians, as the Macedonians say, were called Briges, as long as they were Europeans, and dwelt with the Macedonians; but having passed over into Asia, they changed their name, with their country, into that of Phrygians. The Armenians, being colonists of the Phrygians, were equipped like the Phrygians. Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius commanded both these.

74. The Lydians had arms very like the Grecian. The Lydians were formerly called Meionians, but took their appellation from Lydus, the son of Atys, having changed their name. The Mysians wore on their heads a helmet peculiar to their country, and small shields; and they used javelins hardened by fire. They are colonists of the Lydians, and from the mountain Olympus are called Olympieni. Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes who invaded Marathon with Datis, commanded the Lydians and Mysians.

75. The Thracians joined the expedition, having foxskins on their heads, and tunics around their body, and over them they were clothed with various-colored cloaks, and on their feet and legs they had buskins of fawn-skin, and, besides, they had javelins, light bucklers, and small daggers. These people, having crossed over into Asia, were called Bithynians; but formerly, as they themselves say, were called Strymonians, as they dwelt on the river Strymon: they say that they were removed from their original settlements by the Teucrians and Mysians. Bassaces, son of Artabanus, commanded the Thracians of Asia.

76. They * * * * * ¹ had small shields made of raw hides; and each had two javelins used for hunting wolves, and on their heads brazen helmets; and in addition to the helmets, they wore the ears and horns of an ox in brass. And over these were crests; and as to their legs they were enwrapped in pieces of purple cloth. Among these people there is an oracle of Mars.

77. The Cabalian Meionians, who are also called Lasonians, had the same dress as the Cilicians, which I

¹ There is a hiatus in the manuscripts, which the ingenuity of annotators and editors has been unable to supply.

shall describe when I come to speak of the army of the Cilicians. The Milyæ had short lances, and their garments were fastened by clasps. Some of them had Lycian bows, and on their heads helmets made of tanned skins. Badres, son of Hystanes, commanded all these.

78. The Moschians had on their heads wooden helmets, and small bucklers, and spears; but there were large points *on the spears*. The Tibarenians, Macrones, and Mosynoeci joined the expedition equipped as the Moschians. The following generals marshalled these: the Moschians and Tibarenians, Ariomardus, son of Darius and Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus; the Macrones and Mosynoeci, Artayctes, son of Cherasmis, who was intrusted with the government of Sestos on the Hellespont.

79. The Mares wore helmets on their heads, painted after the manner of their country; and small shields made of skin, and javelins. The Colchians had about their heads wooden helmets, and small shields of raw hides, and short lances; and, besides, they had swords. Pherendates, son of Teaspes, commanded the Mares and Colchians. The Alarodi and the Saspises marched armed like the Colchians; Masistius, son of Siromitres, commanded them.

80. The insular nations that came from the Erythræan Sea, and from the islands in which the king makes those dwell who are called "the banished," had clothing and arms very similar to the Medic. Mardontes, son of Bagæus, who, when commanding the army of Mycale, two years after this, died in battle, commanded these islanders.

81. These were the nations that marched on the continent and composed the infantry. They, then, who have been mentioned commanded this army, and these were they who set in order, and numbered them, and appointed commanders of thousands and of ten thousands; but the commanders of ten thousands *appointed* the captains of hundreds and captains of tens. There were other subaltern officers over the troops and nations, but those who have been mentioned were the commanders.

82. Over these and the whole infantry were appointed as generals, Mardonius, son of Gobryas ; Tritan-tæchmes, son of Artabanus, who gave his opinion against the invasion of Greece : Smerdomenes, son of Otanes (both these were sons to brothers of Darius, and cousins to Xerxes) ; Masistes, son of Darius and Atossa ; Gergis, son of Arizus ; and Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus.

83. These were generals of the whole land-forces, except the ten thousand ; of these ten thousand chosen Persians, Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes, was general. These Persians were called Immortal for the following reason : if any one of them made a deficiency in the number, compelled either by death or disease, another was ready chosen to supply his place, so that they were never either more or less than ten thousand. The Persians displayed the greatest splendor of all, and were also the bravest ; their equipment was such as has been described ; but, besides this, they were conspicuous from having a great profusion of gold. They also brought with them covered chariots, and concubines in them, and a numerous and well-equipped train of attendants. Camels and other beasts of burden conveyed their provisions apart from that of the rest of the soldiers.

84. All these nations have cavalry ; they did not, however, all furnish horse, but only the following. First, the Persians, equipped in the same manner as their infantry, except that on their heads some of them wore brazen and wrought-steel ornaments.

85. There is a certain nomadic race, called Sagartians, of Persian extraction and language ; they wear a dress fashioned between the Persian and the Pactyan fashion ; they furnished eight thousand horse, but they are not accustomed to carry arms either of brass or iron, except daggers ; they use ropes made of twisted thongs ; trusting to these, they go to war. The mode of fighting of these men is as follows : when they engage with the enemy, they throw out the ropes, which have nooses at the end, and whatever any one catches, whether horse or man, he drags toward himself, and they that are entangled in the coils are put to death. This is their

mode of fighting ; and they were marshalled with the Persians.

86. The Medes had the same equipment as that used in the infantry, and the Cissians in like manner. The Indians were also equipped like their infantry, but they used saddle-horses and chariots, and in their chariots they yoked horses and wild asses. The Bactrians were equipped in the same manner as their infantry, and the Caspians likewise. The Libyans too *were accoutred* like their infantry, but they all drove chariots. In like manner, the Caspi and Paricanii were equipped in the same way as their infantry : and the Arabians had the same dress as their infantry, but all rode camels not inferior to horses in speed.

87. These nations only furnished cavalry. The number of the horse amounted to eighty thousand besides the camels and chariots. All the rest of the cavalry were marshalled in troops, but the Arabians were stationed in the rear ; for as horses cannot endure camels, they were stationed behind, that the horses might not be frightened.

88. Armamithres and Tithæus, sons of Datis, were generals of the cavalry. Their third colleague in command, Pharnuches, had been left at Sardis sick ; for as they were setting out from Sardis he met with a sad accident ; for when he was mounted, a dog ran under the legs of his horse, and the horse, not being aware of it, was frightened, and, rearing up, threw Pharnuches ; upon which, he, having fallen, vomited blood, and the disease turned to a consumption. With respect to the horse, his servants immediately did as he ordered ; for, leading him to the place where he had thrown his master, they cut off his legs at the knees. Thus Pharnuches was deprived of the command.

89. The number of the triremes amounted to twelve hundred and seven ; the following nations furnished them. The Phœnicians, with the Syrians of Palestine, *furnished* three hundred, being thus equipped : on their heads they had helmets, made very nearly after the Grecian fashion, and, clothed in linen breastplates, they carried shields without rims, and javelins. These

Phœnicians, as they themselves say, anciently dwelt on the Red Sea; and having crossed over from thence, they settled on the sea-coast of Syria: this part of Syria, and the whole as far as Egypt, is called Palestine. The Egyptians contributed two hundred ships. These had on their heads plaited helmets, and *carried* hollow shields, with large rims, and pikes fit for a sea-fight, and large hatchets. The greater part of them had breast-plates, and carried large swords.

90. The Cyprians contributed a hundred and fifty ships, and were equipped as follows: their kings had their heads wrapped in turbans; the rest wore tunics, and were in other respects attired like the Greeks. Of these there are the following nations: some from Salamis and Athens, others from Arcadia, others from Cythnus, others from Phœnicia, and others from Ethiopia, as the Cyprians themselves say.

91. The Cilicians contributed a hundred ships. These, again, wore on their heads helmets peculiar to their country, and had bucklers instead of shields, made of raw hides, and were clothed in woollen tunics; every one had two javelins, and a sword made very much like the Egyptian cimeters. They were anciently called Hypachæans, and took their present name from Cilix, son of Agener, a Phœnician. The Pamphylians contributed thirty ships, and were equipped in Grecian armor. These Pamphylians are descended from those who, in their return from Troy, were dispersed with Amphilochus and Calchas.

92. The Lycians contributed fifty ships, and wore breastplates and greaves. They had bows made of cornel-wood, and cane arrows without feathers, and javelins; and, besides, goatskins were suspended over their shoulders, and round their heads caps encircled with feathers; they had also daggers and falchions. The Lycians were called Termilæ, being sprung from Crete, but took their present name from Lycus, son of Pandion, an Athenian.

93. The Dorians of Asia contributed thirty ships, wearing Grecian armor, and sprung from the Peloponnesus. The Carians contributed seventy ships, and

were in other respects accoutred like the Greeks, but had falchions and daggers. What these were formerly called I have mentioned in the first part¹ of my history.

94. The Ionians contributed a hundred ships, and were equipped as Greeks. The Ionians, as long as they inhabited that part of the Peloponnesus which is now called Achaia, and before Danaus and Xuthus arrived in the Peloponnesus, as the Greeks say, were called Pelasgian Ægialees; but Ionians from Ion, son of Xuthus.

95. The Islanders contributed seventeen ships, and were armed like the Greeks. This race is also Pelasgic, but was afterward called Ionian for the same reason as the Ionians of the twelve cities, who came from Athens. The Æolians contributed sixty ships, and were equipped like the Greeks; they were anciently called Pelasgians, as the Grecians say. The Hellespontines, except those of Abydos, for the people of Abydos were ordered by the king to stay at home and guard the bridges—the rest, however, who joined the expedition from the Pontus, contributed a hundred ships; they were equipped like the Greeks: these are colonists of the Ionians and Dorians.

96. Persians, Medes, and Sacæ served as marines on board all the ships. Of these the Phœnicians furnished the best sailing ships, and of the Phœnicians the Sidonians. Over all these, as well as over those that formed the land-army, native officers were appointed to each; but I do not mention their names, for I am not necessarily constrained to do so for the purpose of the history; nor were the officers of each nation worthy of mention; and in each nation, as many as the cities were, so many were the leaders. They did not, however, follow in the quality of generals, but like the other subjects who joined the expedition. Moreover, the generals, who had all the power, and were the commanders of the several nations, such of them as were Persians have been already mentioned by me.

97. The following were admirals of the navy: Ariabignes, son of Darius; Prexaspes, son of Aspathines;

¹ See B. I. chap. 171.

Megabazus, son of Megabates ; and Achæmenes, son of Darius : of the Ionian and Carian force, Ariabignes, son of Darius and the daughter of Gobryas ; Achæmenes, who was brother to Xerxes on both sides, commanded the Egyptians ; and the other two commanded the rest of the fleet. Triëconters, penteconters, light boats, and long horse transports were found to assemble to the number of three thousand.

98. Of those who served in the fleet, the following, next to the admirals, were the most illustrious : Tetramnestus, son of Anysus, a Sidonian ; Mapen, son of Siromus, a Tyrian ; Merbalus, son of Agbalus, an Arian ; Syennesis, son of Oromedon, a Cilician ; Cybernisus, son of Sicas, a Lycian ; Gorgus, son of Chersis, and Timonax, son of Timagoras, Cyprians ; and of the Carians, Histæus, son of Tymnes ; Pygres, son of Seldomus, and Damasithymus, son of Candaules.

99. Of the other captains I make no mention, as I deem it unnecessary, except of Artemisia, whom I most admire, as having, though a woman, joined this expedition against Greece ; who, her husband being dead, herself holding the sovereignty while her son was under age, joined the expedition from a feeling of courage and manly spirit, though there was no necessity for her doing so. Her name was Artemisia, and she was the daughter of Lygdamis, and by birth she was of Halicarnassus on her father's side, and on her mother's a Cretan. She commanded the Halicarnassians, the Coans, the Nisyrians, and the Calydnians, having contributed five ships ; and of the whole fleet, next to the Sidonians, she furnished the most renowned ships, and of all the allies, gave the best advice to the king. The cities which I have mentioned as being under her command, I pronounce to be all of Doric origin ; the Halicarnassians being Troezenians, and the rest Epidaurians. Thus far the naval armament has been spoken of.

100. Xerxes, when he had numbered his forces, and the army was drawn up, desired to pass through and inspect them in person. Accordingly he did so, and driving through on a chariot, by each separate nation,

he made inquiries, and his secretaries wrote down the answers, until he had gone from one extremity to the other, both of the horse and foot. When he had finished this, and the ships had been launched into the sea, Xerxes thereupon removing from his chariot to a Sidonian ship, sat under a gilded canopy, and then sailed by the prows of the ship, asking questions of each, as he had done with the land-forces, and having the answers written down. The captains of the ships having drawn their vessels about four plethra from the beach, lay to, all having turned their ships frontwise to land, and having armed the marines as if for a battle; but Xerxes, sailing between the prows and the beach, inspected them.

101. When he had sailed through them, and had landed from the ship, he sent for Demaratus, son of Ariston, who accompanied him in the expedition against Greece; and having called him, he addressed him thus: "Demaratus, it is now my pleasure to ask of you certain questions that I wish. You are a Greek, and, as I am informed by you, and other Greeks who have conversed with me, of a city neither the least nor the weakest. Now, therefore, tell me this, whether the Grecians will venture to lift their hands against me; for, as I think, if all the Grecians, and all the rest of the nations that dwell toward the west, were collected together, they would not be able to withstand my attack unless they were united together. However, I am desirous to know what you say on this subject." Such was the question he asked; but Demaratus answering, said, "O king, whether shall I speak truth to you, or what is pleasing?" He bade him speak truth, assuring him that he would not be at all less agreeable than he was before.

102. When Demaratus heard this, he spoke thus: "O king, since you positively require me to speak truth, I will say such things as whoever should utter them would not hereafter be convicted of falsehood. Poverty has ever been familiar to Greece, but virtue has been acquired, having been accomplished by wisdom and firm laws; by the aid of which, Greece has warded off poverty and tyranny. I commend, indeed, all those

Greeks who dwell round those Doric lands ; but I shall now proceed to speak, not of all, but of the Lacedæmonians only. In the first place, *I say* it is not possible that they should ever listen to your proposals, which bring slavery on Greece ; secondly, that they will meet you in battle, even if all the rest of the Greeks should side with you. With respect to their number, you need not ask how many they are, that they are able to do this ; for whether a thousand men, or more, or even less, should have marched out, they will certainly give you battle."

103. Xerxes, having^a heard this, replied, Demaratus, what have you said ? that a thousand men will fight with such an army as this ? Come, tell me, you say that you were yourself king of these men ; are you, then, willing on the spot to fight with ten men ? And yet, if all your citizens are such as you represent, you, who are their king, ought, by your own institutions, to be matched against twice that number ; for if each of them is a match for ten men in my army, I expect that you should be a match for twenty, so the opinion you have given utterance to would prove correct ; but if, being such as yourself, and of the same stature as you and other Greeks who have conversed with me, ye boast so much, beware that the opinion you have uttered be not an idle vaunt ; for come, let us consider every probability : how could a thousand men, or even ten thousand, or even fifty thousand, being all equally free, and not subject to the command of a single person, resist such an army as this ? for if they are five thousand, we are more than a thousand against one. Were they, indeed, according to our custom, subject to the command of a single person, they might, through fear of him, prove superior to their natural courage ; and, compelled by the lash, might, though fewer, attack a greater number ; but now, being left to their own free will, they will do nothing of the kind. And I am of opinion that, even if they were equal in numbers, the Grecians would hardly contend with the Persians alone. For the valor that you speak of exists among us ; it is not, however, common, but rare ; for there are Persians

among my body-guards who would readily encounter three Greeks at once ; and you, having no experience of these men, talk very idly."

104. To this Demaratus replied, "O king, I knew from the first that by adhering to the truth I should not say what would be agreeable to you ; but since you constrained me to speak the exact truth, I told you the real character of the Spartans. However, you yourself well know how tenderly I must love them, who, after they had deprived me of my paternal honors and dignity, have made me cityless and an exile ; but your father, having received me, gave me maintenance and a home ; it is not probable, therefore, that a prudent man should repel manifest benevolence, but should by all means cherish it. For my part, I do not pretend to be able to fight with ten men, nor with two ; nor would I willingly fight with one ; but if there was any necessity, or any great stake to rouse me, I would most willingly fight with one of those men who pretend to be singly a match for three Grecians. In like manner, the Lacedæmonians in single combat are inferior to none, but together are the bravest of all men ; for, though free, they are not absolutely free, for they have a master over them, the law, which they fear much more than your subjects do you. They do, accordingly, whatever it enjoins ; and it ever enjoins the same thing, forbidding them to fly from battle before any number of men, but to remain in their ranks, and conquer or die. If I appear to you, in saying this, to talk idly, I will for the future observe silence on this subject, and now I have spoken through compulsion ; however, may events, O king, turn out according to your wish."

105. Such was the reply he made ; but Xerxes turned it into ridicule, and evinced no anger, but dismissed him kindly. Xerxes, having held this conversation, and appointed Mascames, son of Megadostes, to be governor of this Doriscus, and having deposed the person placed there by Darius marched his army through Thrace toward Greece.

106. Mascames, whom he left, proved so excellent a man, that Xerxes used to send presents every year to

him alone, as being the best of all the governors whom either he or Darius had appointed ; and he used to send them every year, as did also Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, to the descendants of Mascames ; for even before this expedition governors had been appointed in Thrace, and throughout the Hellespont. Now all these, both in Thrace and on the Hellespont, except the one in Doriscus, were driven out by the Greeks after this invasion ; but none were able to drive out Mascames, who was in Doriscus, though many made the attempt. On this account presents are sent to his family by the reigning king of Persia.

107. But of all those who were driven out by the Greeks, king Xerxes thought no one had behaved himself with courage except Boges, who was governor of Eion. Him he never ceased praising, and conferred the highest honors on his sons who survived in Persia. And, indeed, Boges deserves great praise ; for when he was besieged by the Athenians under Cimon, son of Miltiades, and might have marched out by capitulation and returned to Asia, he would not do so, lest the king should think he saved his life through cowardice ; but he held out to the last ; and when there was no longer any food in the fort, having raised a great pile, he slew his children and wife, and concubines and servants, and then threw their bodies into the fire ; after this he cast all the gold and silver that was in the tower from the fort into the Strymon, and, having done this, he threw himself into the fire, so that he is with justice commended by the Persians even to this day.

108. Xerxes set out from Doriscus toward Greece, and compelled such nations as he met with to join his army ; for, as I before observed,¹ the whole country as far as Thessaly had been brought to subjection, and made tributary to the king, Megabazus, and afterward Mardonius, having subdued it. In his march from Doriscus, he first passed the Samothracian fortresses, the last of which is situate toward the west, and is a city called Mesambria ; near this is Stryme, a city of the Thasians. Between these two places the river Lis-

¹ See B. V. ch. 12, 15 ; and B. VI. ch. 43-45.

sus flows ; which did not supply sufficient water for the army of Xerxes, but failed. This country was anciently called Gallaica, but now Briantica ; in strict right, however, it belongs to the Ciconians.

109. Xerxes, having crossed the dried-up channel of the river Lissus, passed by the following Grecian cities, Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera ; he accordingly went by these, and near them, the following celebrated lakes : the Ismaris, situate between Maronea and Stryme ; and Bistonis, near Dicæa, into which two rivers empty their water, the Travus and Compsatus. Near Abdera Xerxes passed by no celebrated lake, but the river Nestus, which flows into the sea. After these places he passed in his march by several continental cities, in one of which is a lake about thirty stades in circumference : it abounds in fish, and is very brackish. The beasts of burden alone, being watered there, dried this up. The name of this city is Pistyrus. These cities, then, maritime and Grecian, he passed by, leaving them on the left hand.

110. The nations of Thrace, through whose country he marched, are these : the Pæti, Ciconians, Bistonians, Sapæi, Dersæi, Edoni, and Satræ. Of these, such as dwelt near the sea attended him with their ships ; and such as dwelt inland, who have been enumerated by me, all, except the Satræ, were compelled to follow by land.

111. The Satræ, as far as we are informed, were never subject to any man, but alone, of all the Thracians, have continued free to this day ; for they inhabit lofty mountains, covered with all kinds of wood and snow, and are courageous in war. These are the people that possess an oracle of Bacchus ; this oracle is on the highest range of their mountains. The Bessi are those among the Satræ who interpret the oracles of the temple ; a priestess delivers them, as in Delphi, and they are not at all more ambiguous.

112. Xerxes, having traversed the country that has been mentioned, after this passed by the forts of the Pierians, one of which is called Phagres, and the other Pergamus : here he marched close to the very forts,

keeping on his right hand Mount Pangæus, which is vast and lofty, and in it are gold and silver mines, which the Pierians and Odomanti, and especially the Satræ, work.

113. Passing by the Pæonians, Doberes, and Pæoplæ, who dwell above Pangæus to the north, he went westward till he arrived at the river Strymon and the city of Eion, of which Boges, whom I have lately mentioned,¹ being still alive, was governor. The land itself, which is about Mount Pangæus, is called Phillis, extending westward to the river Angites, which falls into the Strymon; and on the south, reaching to the Strymon itself, which the magi propitiated by sacrificing white horses to it.

114. Having used these enchantments to the river, and many others besides, they marched by the Nine Ways of the Edonians to the bridges, and found the banks of the Strymon united by a bridge.² But being informed that this place was called the Nine Ways, they buried alive in it so many sons and daughters of the inhabitants. It is a Persian custom to bury people alive; for I have heard that Amestris, wife of Xerxes, having grown old, caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be buried alive, to show her gratitude to the god who is said to be beneath the earth.

115. When the army marched from the Strymon, there is a shore toward the sunset on which it passed by a Grecian city called Argilus; this and the country above it is called Bisaltia; from thence keeping the bay near the temple of Neptune on the left hand, it went through what is called the plain of Soleus; and passing by Stagirus, a Grecian city, arrived at Acanthus; taking with them each of the above nations, and those that dwell round Mount Pangæus, as well as those which I have before enumerated; having those that dwelt near the sea to serve on shipboard, and those above the sea to follow on foot. This road, along which king Xerxes marched his army, the Thracians neither disturb nor sow, but regard it with great veneration even to my time.

116. When he arrived at Acanthus, the Persian en-

¹ Chap. 107.

² See chap. 24.

joined the Acanthians to show them hospitality, and presented them with a Medic dress, and commended them, seeing them ready for the war, and hearing of the excavation at *Mount Athos*.¹

117. While Xerxes was at Acanthus, it happened that Artachæes, who had superintended the canal, died of disease; he was much esteemed by Xerxes, and was of the race of the Achæmenidæ, and in stature the tallest of the Persians, for he wanted only four fingers of five royal cubits; and he had the loudest voice of any man, so that Xerxes, considering his loss very great, had him carried to the grave and buried him with great pomp, and the whole army raised up a mound for his sepulchre. To this Artachæes the Acanthians, in obedience to an oracle, offer sacrifice as to a hero, invoking him by name. King Xerxes therefore, when Artachæes died, considered it a great loss.

118. Those of the Grecians who received the army and entertained Xerxes were reduced to extreme distress, so that they were obliged to abandon their homes; since Antipater, son of Orges, one of the most distinguished citizens, being selected by the Thasians, who received and entertained the army of Xerxes on behalf of the cities on the continent, showed that four hundred talents of silver had been expended on the banquet.

119. In like manner, those who superintended in the other cities gave in their accounts; for the banquet was of the following kind, as being ordered long beforehand, and considered of great importance. In the first place, as soon as they heard the heralds proclaiming it all around, the citizens, having distributed the corn that was in the cities, all made flour and meal for many months; and, in the next place, they fattened cattle, finding the best they could for money, and fed land and water fowl in coops and ponds for the entertainment of the army: moreover, they made gold and silver cups and vessels, and all such things as are placed on a table. But these things were made for the king himself, and those who sat at table

¹ See chap. 22. The Acanthians, who bordered on Mount Athos, had probably facilitated the work.

with him; for the rest of the army provisions only were required. Whenever the army arrived, a tent was readily pitched, in which Xerxes himself lodged, but the rest of the army remained in the open air. When meal-time came, those who received them had all the trouble; but the guests, when they had been satisfied and passed the night there, on the following day, having torn up the tent and taken all the furniture, went away, leaving nothing, but carrying away everything.

120. On this occasion, a clever remark was made by Magacreon of Abdera, who advised the Abderites "to go in a body, themselves and their wives, to their own temples, and to seat themselves as suppliants of the gods, beseeching them also for the future to avert one-half of the evils that were coming upon them, and to express their hearty thanks for what was passed, that king Xerxes was not accustomed to take food twice every day; for if they had been ordered to prepare a dinner as well as a supper, they, the Abderites, would have been compelled either not to await the arrival of Xerxes, or, if they had awaited him, they must have been worn down the most miserably of all men." They, however, though hard put to it, executed the order imposed on them.

121. At Acanthus Xerxes dismissed the ships from his presence to proceed on their voyage, having given orders to the admirals that the fleet should await his arrival at Therma—at Therma, which is situated on the Thermæan gulf, and from which that gulf derives its name, for he had heard that that was the shortest way. As far as Acanthus the army marched from Doriscus in the following order. Xerxes, having divided the whole land forces into three bodies, ordered one of them to accompany the fleet along the coast; of this division Mardonius and Masistes were commanders. Another of the three divisions of the army marched inland, commanded by Trintantæchmes and Gersis. But the third division, with which Xerxes himself went, marched between the other two, and had for generals Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

122. The fleet accordingly, when it been had dismissed

by Xerxes, and had passed through the canal which was at Athos extending to the bay on which the cities of Assa, Pílorus, Singus, and Sarta are situate, after that, when it had taken troops on board from those cities, sailed with all speed to the Thermæan bay. Doubling Ampelus, the Toronæan foreland, it passed by the following Greek cities, from which it took ships and men, Torone, Galepsus, Sermyla, Meczyberna, and Olynthus; all which country is now called Sithonia.

123. Xerxes's fleet, stretching across from the cape of Ampelus to the cape of Canastræum, which is the most prominent point of all Pallene, thence took ships and men from Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Æga. Therambus, Scione, Menda, and Sana, for these are the cities that belong to what is now Pallene, but was formerly called Phlegra. Coasting along this country, it sailed to the appointed place, taking with them troops also from the cities near Pallene and bordering on the Thermæan gulf; their names are as follows: Lipaxus, Combrea, Lisæ, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, and Ænea. The country in which these cities are situate is to the present time called by the name of Crossæa. From Ænea, with which I ended my enumeration of the cities, the course of the fleet was direct to the Thermæan gulf and the Mygdonian territory; and sailing on, it reached the appointed place, Therma, and Sindus and Chalestra, on the river Axius, which divides the territories of Mygdonia, and Bottiæis; on a narrow tract of which, near the sea, stand the cities of Ichnæ and Pella.

124. The naval force encamped there near the river Axius, and the city of Therma, and the intermediate places, awaiting the arrival of the king; but Xerxes and the land army marched from Acanthus, taking the road through the interior, wishing to reach Therma; and he marched through the Pæonian and Crestonian territories toward the river Echidorus, which, beginning from the Crestonians, flows through the Mygdonian territory, and discharges itself into the marsh which is above the river Axius.

125. While he was marching in this direction, lions fell upon his camels that carried provisions; for the

lions, coming down by night and leaving their usual haunts, seized nothing else, whether beast of burden or man, but they attacked the camels only; and I wonder what the reason could be that induced the lions to abstain from all the rest, and set upon the camels, a beast which they had never before seen or made trial of.

126. But in those parts lion are numerous, and wild bulls, which have very large horns that are brought into Greece. The boundaries of the lions are the river Nestus, which flows through Abdera, and the Achelous, which flows through Acarnania; for no one ever would see a lion anywhere eastward of the Nestus, throughout the forepart of Europe, nor to the west of the Achelous, the rest of the continent, but they breed in the tract between these two rivers.

127. When Xerxes arrived at Therma, he there ordered his army to halt; and his army, when encamped, occupied the following district along the coast; commencing from the city of Therma, and from Mygdonia, to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which divide the territories of Bottiæis and Macedonia, uniting their waters into the same channel. In these countries, then, the barbarians encamped. Of the rivers above mentioned, the Echidorus, which flows from the Crestonians, was the only one that was not sufficient for the army, but failed.

128. Xerxes, seeing from Therma the Thessalonian mountains, Olympus and Ossa, which are of vast size, and having learned that there was a narrow pass between them, through which the river Peneus runs, and hearing that at that spot there was a road leading to Thessaly, very much wished to sail and see the mouth of the Peneus, because he designed to march by the upper road through the country of the Macedonians, who dwell higher up, to the territory of the Perrhæbi, near the city of Gonnus; for he was informed that this was the safest way. Accordingly, as he wished, so he did. Having gone on board a Sidonian ship, in which he always embarked whenever he wished to do anything of this kind, he made a signal for all the rest of the fleet to get under weigh, leaving the land forces

where they were. When Xerxes arrived, and beheld the mouth of the Peneus, he was struck with great astonishment, and having called his guides, asked if it would be possible to turn the river and conduct it by another channel into the sea.

129. It is said that Thessaly was anciently a lake, since it is inclosed on all sides by lofty mountains; for the side next the east Mount Pelion and Ossa shut in, mingling their bases with each other; and the side toward the north Olympus *shuts in*; and the west, Pinus; and the side toward the midday and the south wind, Othrys: the space in the midst of the above-mentioned mountains is Thessaly, which is hollow. Since, then, several other rivers flow into it, and these five most noted ones, the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus—these that have been named, accordingly, meeting together in this plain from the mountains that inclose Thessaly, discharge themselves into the sea through one channel, and that a narrow one, having all before mingled their waters into the same stream; but as soon as they have mingled together, from that spot the names of the other rivers merge in that of the Peneus.¹ It is said that formerly, when the pass and outlet did not yet exist, these rivers, and besides them the lake Boëbeis, were not called by the names they now bear, though they flowed not less than they do now, but that by their stream they made all Thessaly a lake. However, the Thessalians themselves say that Neptune made the pass through which the Peneus flows; and their story is probable, for whoever thinks that Neptune shakes the earth, and that rents occasioned by earthquakes are the works of this god, on seeing this, would say that Neptune formed it, for it appears evident to me that the separation of these mountains is the effect of an earthquake.

130. The guides, when Xerxes asked if there was any other exit for the Peneus to the sea, being accurately acquainted with the country, said, "O king, this river

¹ Literally, "the river Peneus gaining the victory as to the name, causes the others to be nameless."

has no other outlet that extends to the sea except this one, for all Thessaly is surrounded by mountains." Xerxes is reported to have said to this, "The Thessalians are prudent men, and therefore they long ago took precautions, and altered their minds, both on other accounts, and because they possessed a country which might be easily subdued and quickly taken; for it would only be necessary to turn the river on to their territory, by forcing it back by a mound at the pass, and diverting it *from the channels* through which it now flows, so that all Thessaly, except the mountains, would be inundated." Xerxes expressed himself thus in reference to the sons of Aleuas,¹ because they, being Thessalians, were the first of the Greeks who gave themselves up to the king, Xerxes supposing that they promised alliance in behalf of the whole nation. Having thus spoken, and viewed the spot, he sailed back to Therma.

131. He remained several days about Pieria, for a third division of his army was employed in felling the trees on the Macedonian range, that the whole army might pass in that direction to the Perrhæbi. In the mean time, the heralds² who had been sent to Greece to demand earth returned to Xerxes, some empty, and others bringing earth and water.

132. Of those who gave them were the following; the Thessalians, the Dolopes, the Enienes, the Perrhæbi, the Locrians, the Magnes, the Melians, the Achæans of Phthiotis, and the Thebans, and all the rest of the Bœotians except the Thespians and Plateæans. Against these the Greeks, who engaged in war with the barbarians, made a solemn oath. The oath ran as follows: "Whatever Greeks have given themselves up to the Persian without compulsion, so soon as their affairs are restored to order, that these should be compelled to pay a tithe to the god at Delphi." Such was the oath taken by the Greeks.

133. To Athens and Sparta he did not send heralds to demand earth for the following reasons: on a former occasion, when Darius sent for the same purpose, the

¹ See chap. 6.

² See chap. 32.

former having thrown those who made the demand into the barathrum,¹ and the latter into a well, bade them carry earth and water to the king from those places; for that reason, Xerxes did not send persons to make the demand. What calamity befell the Athenians, in consequence of their having treated the heralds in this manner, I cannot say, except that their territory and city were ravaged; but I do not think that happened in consequence of that crime.

134. On the Lacedæmonians, however, the anger of Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, alighted; for Talthybius, has a temple in Sparta; and there are descendants of Talthybius, called Talthybiadæ, to whom all embassies from Sparta are given as a privilege. After these events, the Spartans were unable, when they sacrificed, to get favorable omens; and this continued for a long time. The Lacedæmonians being grieved, and considering it a great calamity, and having frequently held assemblies, and *at length* made inquiry by public proclamation whether any Lacedæmonian was willing to die for Sparta, Sperthies, son of Aneristus, and Bulis, son of Nicolaus, both Spartans of distinguished birth, and eminent for their wealth, voluntarily offered to give satisfaction to Xerxes for the heralds of Darius who had perished at Sparta. Accordingly, the Spartans sent them to the Medes for the purpose of being put to death.

135. And both the courage of these men deserves admiration, and also the following words on this occasion; for on their way to Susa they came to Hydarnes; but Hydarnes was a Persian by birth, and governor of the maritime people in Asia; he having offered them hospitality, entertained them, and while he was entertaining them, he questioned them as follows, saying, "Men of Lacedæmon, why do you refuse to be friendly with the king? for you may see how well the king knows how to honor brave men, by looking at me and my condition; so also, if you would surrender yourselves to the king, for you are deemed by him to be brave men,

¹ The barathrum was a deep pit at Athens, into which certain criminals who were sentenced to death were thrown.

each of you would obtain a government in some part of Greece at the hands of the king." To this they answered as follows: "Hydarnes, the advice you hold out to us is not impartial; for you advise us, having tried the one state, but being inexperienced in the other: what it is to be a slave you know perfectly well, but you have never tried liberty, whether it is sweet or not; for if you had tried it, you would advise us to fight for it, not with spears, but even with hatchets." Thus they answered Hydarnes.

136. Afterwards, when they went up to Susa, and were come into the king's presence, in the first place, when the guards commanded and endeavored to compel them to prostrate themselves and worship the king, they said they would by no means do so, although they were thrust by them on their heads; for that it was not their custom to worship a man, nor had they come for that purpose. When they had fought off this, and on their addressing Xerxes in words to the following effect, "King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians have sent us in return for the heralds who were killed at Sparta, to make satisfaction for them;" on their saying this, Xerxes answered with magnanimity "that he would not be like the Lacedæmonians, for that they had violated the law of all nations by murdering his heralds; but he would not do the very thing which he blamed in them, nor by killing them in return would relieve the Lacedæmonians from guilt."

137. Thus the wrath of Talthybius, when the Spartans acted in this manner, ceased for the time, although Sperthies and Bulis returned to Sparta. But some time afterward it was again aroused, during the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, as the Lacedæmonians say; and this appears to me to have happened in a most extraordinary manner; for that the wrath of Talthybius alighted on the messengers, and did not cease until it was satisfied, justice allowed; but that it should fall on the sons of the men who went up to the king on account of that wrath, on Nicolaus, son of Bulis, and on Aneritus, son of Sperthies, who, sailing in a merchant vessel fully manned, captured some

fishermen from Tiryns, makes it clear to me that the occurrence was extraordinary in consequence of that wrath ; for they, being sent by the Lacedæmonians as ambassadors to Asia, and being betrayed by Sitalces, son of Teres, king of the Thracians, and by Nymphodorus, son of Pytheas of Abdera, were taken near Bisanthe on the Hellespont, and being carried to Attica, were put to death by the Athenians ; and with them Aristetas, son of Adimantus, a Corinthian. These things, however, happened many years after the expedition of the king.

138. But I return to my former subject. This expedition of the king was nominally directed against Athens, but was really sent against all Greece. The Greeks, however, though they had heard of it long beforehand, were not all affected alike ; for those who had given earth and water to the Persian felt confident that they should suffer no harm from the barbarian ; but those who had refused to give them were in great consternation, since the ships in Greece were not sufficient in number to resist the invader, and many were unwilling to engage in the war, and were much inclined to side with the Medes.

139. And here I feel constrained by necessity to declare my opinion, although it may excite the envy of most men ; however, I will not refrain from expressing how the truth appears to me to be. If the Athenians, terrified with the impending danger, had abandoned their country, or, not having abandoned it, but remaining in it, had given themselves up to Xerxes, no other people would have attempted to resist the king at sea. If, then, no one had opposed Xerxes by sea, the following things must have occurred on land. Although many lines of walls had been built by the Peloponnesians across the Isthmus, yet the Lacedæmonians, being abandoned by the allies (not willingly, but by necessity, they being taken by the barbarian city by city), would have been alone ; and being left alone, after having displayed noble deeds, would have died nobly. They would either have suffered thus, or, before that, seeing the rest of the Greeks siding with the

Medes, would have made terms with Xerxes ; and so, in either case, Greece would have become subject to the Persians ; for I am unable to discover what would have been the advantage of the walls built across the Isthmus if the king had been master of the sea. Any one, therefore, who should say that the Athenians were the saviours of Greece, would not deviate from the truth ; for to whichever side they turned, that must have preponderated. But having chosen that Greece should continue free, they were the people who roused the rest of the Greeks who did not side with the Medes, and who, next to the gods, repulsed the king. Neither did alarming oracles, that came from Delphi, and inspired them with terror, induce them to abandon Greece, but, standing their ground, they had courage to await the invader of their country.

140. For the Athenians, having sent deputies to Delphi, were anxious to consult the oracle ; and after they had performed the usual ceremonies about the temple, when they entered the sanctuary and sat down, the Pythian, whose name was Aristonica, uttered the following warning : “ O wretched men, why sit ye here ? fly to the ends of the earth, leaving your houses and the lofty summits of your wheel-shaped city ; for neither does the head remain firm nor the body, nor the lowest feet nor the hands, nor is aught of the middle left, but they are all fallen to ruin. For fire and fleet Mars, driving the Syrian chariot, destroys it ; and he will destroy many other turrets, and not yours alone ; and he will deliver many temples of the immortals to devouring fire, which now stand dripping with sweat, shaken with terror ; and from the topmost roofs trickles black blood, pronouncing inevitable woe. But go from the sanctuary, and infuse your mind with courage to meet misfortunes.”

141. The deputies of the Athenians, having heard this, deemed it a very great calamity ; and when they were dejected at the predicted evil, Timon, son of Androbulus, a man reputed at Delphi equally with the best, advised them to take supplicatory branches, and go again and consult the oracle as suppliants. The

Athenians yielding to this advice, and saying, "O king, vouchsafe to give us a more favorable answer concerning our country, having regard to these supplicatory branches which we have brought with us; otherwise we will never depart from thy sanctuary, but will remain here till we die." When they had said this, the priestess gave a second answer, in these terms: "Pallas is unable to propitiate Olympian Jove, entreating him with many a prayer and prudent counsel. But to you again I utter this speech, making it like adamant; for when all is taken that the limit of Cecrops contains within it, and the recesses of divine Cithæron, wide-seeing Jupiter gives a wooden wall to the Triton-born goddess, to be alone impregnable, which shall preserve you and your children. Nor do you quietly wait for the cavalry and infantry advancing in multitudes from the continent, but turn your backs and withdraw; you will still be able to face them. O divine Salamis, thou shalt cause the sons of women to perish, whether Ceres is scattered or gathered in."

142. Having written this answer down, for it appeared to them to be of milder import than the former one, they departed for Athens; and when the deputies, on their return, reported it to the people, many different opinions were given by persons endeavoring to discover the meaning of the oracle, and among them the two following most opposed each other. Some of the old men said they thought the god foretold that the Acropolis should be saved; for formerly the Acropolis was defended by a hedge; they therefore, on account of the hedge, conjectured that this was the wooden wall. Others, on the other hand, said that the god alluded to their ships, and therefore advised that, abandoning everything else, they should get them ready. However, the two last lines uttered by the Pythian perplexed those who said that the wooden wall meant the ships: "O divine Salamis, thou shalt cause the sons of women to perish, whether Ceres is scattered or gathered in." By these words the opinions of those who said that the ships were the wooden wall were disturbed, for the interpreters of oracles took them in

this sense, that they should be defeated off Salamis if they prepared for a sea-fight.

143. There was a certain Athenian who had lately risen to eminence, whose name was Themistocles, but he was commonly called the son of Neocles; this man maintained that the interpreters had not rightly understood the whole, saying thus: "If the word that had been uttered really did refer to the Athenians, he did not think that it would have been expressed so mildly, but thus, 'O unhappy Salamis' instead of 'O divine Salamis,' if the inhabitants were about to perish on its shores; therefore whoever understood them rightly would conclude that the oracle was pronounced by the god against their enemies, and not against the Athenians." He advised them, therefore, to make preparations for fighting by sea, since that was the wooden wall. When Themistocles thus declared his opinion, the Athenians considered it preferable to that of the interpreters who dissuaded them from making preparations for a sea-fight, and, in short, *advised them* not to make any resistance at all, but to abandon the Attic territory, and settle in some other.

144. Another opinion of Themistocles had before this opportunely prevailed. When the Athenians, having great riches in the treasury, which came in from the mines of Laureum, were about to share them man by man, to each ten drachmas, then Themistocles persuaded them to refrain from this distribution, and to build two hundred ships with this money, meaning for the war with the Æginetæ; for that war springing up, at this time saved Greece, by compelling the Athenians to apply themselves to maritime affairs. The ships, however, were used for the purpose for which they were built, but were thus very serviceable to Greece. These, therefore, were already built for the Athenians, and it was necessary to construct others besides. And it was resolved, on their consulting after the receipt of the oracle, to await the barbarian who was invading Greece with their whole people on shipboard, in obedience to the god, together with such Greeks as would join them. Such, then, were the oracles delivered to the Athenians.

145. When the Greeks who were better affected toward Greece were assembled together, and consulted with each other, and gave pledges of mutual fidelity, it was thereupon determined, on deliberation, that, before all things, they should reconcile all existing enmities and wars with each other ; for there were wars on hand between several others, but the most considerable was that between the Athenians and Æginetæ. After this, being informed that Xerxes was with his army at Sardis, they determined to send spies into Asia, in order to discover the true state of the king's affairs ; and to send ambassadors to Argos to conclude an alliance against the Persians, and others to Sicily, to Gelon, son of Dinomenes, and to Corcyra, and others to Crete, begging them to come to the assistance of Greece ; purposing, if possible, that Greece should be united, and that all should combine in adopting the same plan in dangers which threatened all the Greeks alike ; but the power of Gelon was said to be very great, being far superior to that of any other Grecian states.

146. When these things were determined on by them, having reconciled their enmities, they first of all sent three men as spies into Asia ; and they having arrived at Sardis, and endeavored to get intelligence of the king's forces, when they were discovered, were examined by the generals of the land-army, and led out to execution, for sentence of death had been passed upon them ; but when Xerxes heard of this, disapproving of the decision of the generals, he sent some of his guards, with orders to bring the spies to him if they should find them still alive ; and when they found them yet living, and brought them into the king's presence, he thereupon, having inquired for what purpose they came, commanded the guards to conduct them round, and show them all the infantry and cavalry, and when they should be satisfied with seeing them, to send them away unharmed, to whatever country they should choose.

147. He issued these orders, alleging the following reason, that " if the spies were put to death, the Greeks would neither be informed beforehand of his power,

that it was greater than could be described, nor would he do any great harm to his enemies by putting three men to death; whereas, if they returned to Greece, it was his opinion," he said, "that the Greeks, having heard of his power, would, of their own accord, surrender their liberty before the expedition should take place, and so it would not be necessary to have the trouble of marching against them." This opinion of his was like this other one. When Xerxes was at Abydos, he saw certain ships laden with corn from the Pontus sailing through the Hellespont on their way to Ægina and the Peloponnesus. Those who sat near him, having heard that the ships belonged to the enemy, were ready to capture them, and fixing their eyes on the king, watched when he would give the order. But Xerxes asked his attendants where they were sailing. They answered, "To your enemies, sire, carrying corn." He answering, said, "Are not we also sailing to the same place to which these men are, and provided with other things, and with corn? What hurt, then, can they do us by carrying corn thither for us?" The spies, accordingly, having seen the army, and being sent away, returned to Europe.

148. But the Greeks who had engaged in a confederacy against the Persian, after the despatch of the spies, next sent ambassadors to Argos. But the Argives say that what concerned them occurred as follows: that they heard from the very first of the design of the barbarian against Greece, and having heard of it, and learned that the Greeks would endeavor to obtain their assistance against the Persian, they sent persons to consult the oracle of Delphi, and inquire of the god "what course it would be best for them to adopt; for six thousand of their number had recently been slain by the Lacedæmonians, and by Cleomenes, son of Anxandrides;" for this reason they sent, and the Pythian gave the following answer to their inquiries: "Hated by your neighbors, beloved by the immortal gods, holding your lance at rest, keep on the watch, and guard your head; the head shall save the body." *They say* that the Pythian gave this answer first, and afterward, when the

ambassadors came to Argos, they were introduced to the council, and delivered their message; and they answered to what was said that "the Argives were ready to comply, having first made a thirty years' truce with the Lacedæmonians, and provided they might have an equal share of the command of the allied forces; though in justice the whole command belonged to them, yet they would be content with the command over half."

149. This, they say, was the answer of their senate, although the oracle had forbidden them to enter into any alliance with the Grecians; and that they were anxious to make a thirty years' truce, although they feared the oracle, in order that their children might become men during that time; but if a truce was not made, they were apprehensive lest, if in addition to their present calamity, another failure should befall them in the Persian war, they might in future become subject to the Lacedæmonians. Those of the ambassadors who came from Sparta gave the following answer to what was said by the council: "that with respect to a truce, it should be referred to the people; but with respect to the command, they were instructed to answer and say that they had two kings, but the Argives only one, and therefore it was not possible to deprive either of their kings of his command, but that there was nothing to hinder the Argive king from having an equal vote with their two." Thus the Argives say that they could not put up with the arrogance of the Spartans, but that they rather chose to be subject to the barbarians than to yield to the Lacedæmonians; and that they ordered the ambassadors to quit the territories of the Argives before sunset; otherwise they would treat them as enemies.

150. Such is the account which the Argives themselves give of this affair. But another report is prevalent throughout Greece, that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos before he set out on his expedition against Greece, and it is related that he, on his arrival, said, "Men of Argos, king Xerxes speaks thus to you. We are of opinion that Perses, from whom we are sprung, was son of Perseus, son of Danae, born of Andromeda,

daughter of Cepheus. Thus, then, we must be your descendants ; it is therefore neither right that we should lead an army against our progenitors, nor that you should assist others and be opposed to us, but should remain quiet by yourselves ; and if I succeed according to my wish, I shall esteem none greater than you." It is said that the Argives, when they heard this, considered it a great thing, and at once determined neither to promise anything nor demand any thing in return ; but when the Greeks wished to take them into the confederacy, they then, knowing that the Lacedæmonians would not share the command with them, made the demand in order that they might have a pretext for remaining quiet.

151. Some of the Greeks also say that the following circumstance, which occurred many years after, accords with this : Callias, son of Hipponicus, and those who went up with him as ambassadors of the Athenians, happened to be at the Memnonian Susa on some other business ; and the Argives at the same time having sent ambassadors to Susa, asked Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, "whether the alliance which they had formed with Xerxes still subsisted, or whether they were considered by him as enemies." King Artaxerxes answered "that it certainly subsisted, and that he considered no city more friendly than Argos."

152. Now whether Xerxes did send a herald to Argos with such a message, and whether ambassadors of the Argives, having gone up to Susa, asked Artaxerxes about the alliance, I cannot affirm with certainty ; nor do I declare any other opinion on the subject than what the Argives themselves say ; but this much I know, that if all men were to bring together their own faults into one place, for the purpose of making an exchange with their neighbors, when they had looked closely into their neighbors' faults, each would gladly take back those which they brought with them. Thus the conduct of the Argives was not the most base. But I am bound to relate what is said, though I am not by any means bound to believe everything ; and let this remark apply to the whole history ; for even this is re-

ported, that the Argives were the people who invited the Persian to invade Greece, since their war with the Lacedæmonians went on badly, wishing that anything might happen to them rather than continue in their present troubles. This is sufficient concerning the Argives.

153. Other ambassadors went from the allies to Sicily to confer with Gelon, and among them Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians. An ancestor of this Gelon, who was an inhabitant of Gela, came from the island of Telus, which lies off Triopium; when Gela was founded by the Lindians from Rhodes and by Antiphemus, he was not left behind; and, in course of time, his descendants becoming priests of the infernal deities, continued to be so, Telines, one of their ancestors, having acquired that dignity in the following manner. Some of the inhabitants of Gela, being worsted in a sedition, had fled to Mactorium, a city situated above Gela; these men, then, Telines conducted back again without the assistance of any human force, but with the sacred things to those deities; though whence he got them, or how he became possessed of them, I am unable to say. However, relying on these, he brought back the fugitives on condition that his descendants should be priests of the deities. From what I hear, I am much astonished that Telines should have achieved such an action; for I have ever thought that such actions are not in the reach of every man, but proceed from a brave spirit and manly vigor; whereas, on the contrary, he is reported by the inhabitants of Sicily to have been an effeminate and delicate man. Thus, however, he acquired this dignity.

154. On the death of Cleander, son of Pantares, who reigned seven years over Gela, but was killed by Sabyllus, a citizen of Gela, thereupon Hippocrates, who was brother to Cleander, succeeded to the sovereignty. While Hippocrates held the tyranny, Gelon, who was a descendant of Telines the priest, was with many others, and with Ænesidemus, son of Pataicus, one of the guards of Hippocrates, and soon after was made commander of the whole cavalry on account of his valor; for when

Hippocrates besieged the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the Zancleæans, the Leontines, and, besides, the Syracusans, and divers of the barbarians, Gelon signalized himself in these several wars; and of the cities that I have mentioned, not one, except the Syracusans, escaped servitude at the hands of Hippocrates. But the Corinthians and Corcyræans saved the Syracusans after they had been defeated in battle on the river Elorus, and they saved them, having reconciled them on the following terms, that the Syracusans should give up Camarina to Hippocrates; but Camarina originally belonged to the Syracusans.

155. When Hippocrates, having reigned the same number of years as his brother Cleander, met with his death before Hybla while carrying on the war against the Sicilians, Gelon thereupon, under color of defending the rights of Euclides and Cleander, sons of Hippocrates, the citizens refusing to be any longer subject to them—in fact, when he had defeated the Geloans in battle, possessed himself of the sovereignty, and deposed the sons of Hippocrates. After this success, Gelon, leading back those Syracusans who were called Gamori,¹ and had been expelled by the people, and by their own slaves, called Cyllyrii, leading them back from the city of Casmene to Syracuse, got possession of this also, for the people of the Syracusans gave up the city and themselves to Gelon on his first approach.

156. When he had made himself master of Syracuse, he took less account of the government of Gela, and intrusted it to his brother Hiero; but he strengthened Syracuse, and Syracuse was everything to him; and it grew up rapidly and flourished; for, first of all, he removed all the Camarinæans to Syracuse, and made them citizens, and destroyed the city of Camarina; and, in the next place, he did with more than half the Geloans the same that he had done with the Camarinæans. Moreover, the Megarians in Sicily, when being besieged they came to terms, the more opulent of them, who had raised the war against him, and, therefore, expected to be put to death, he took to Syracuse and

¹ Landholders.

made citizens; but the populace of the Megarians, who had no part in promoting this war, nor expected to suffer any harm, he also took to Syracuse, and sold them for exportation from Sicily. He treated the Eubœans in Sicily in the same manner, and made the same distinction; and he treated them both in this way, from an opinion that a populace is a most disagreeable neighbor. By such means Gelon became a powerful tyrant.

157. At this time, when the ambassadors of the Grecians arrived at Syracuse, having come to a conference with him, they spoke as follows: "The Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and their allies, have sent us to invite you to join with them against the barbarian; for doubtless you have heard that he is marching against Greece, and that a Persian, having thrown a bridge over the Hellespont, and bringing with him all the eastern host out of Asia, is about to invade Greece, holding out as a pretense that he is advancing against Athens, but really designing to reduce all Greece under his own power. But you have attained to great power, and possess not the least part of Greece, since you rule Sicily; assist, therefore, those who are asserting the liberty of Greece, and join them in maintaining its liberty; for if all Greece is assembled, a large force is collected, and we become able to resist the invaders. But if some of us should betray the common cause, and others refuse to assist, so that the sound part of Greece should be small, then there is great danger that the whole of Greece will fall; for you must not expect that if the Persian should subdue us, having conquered in battle, he will not proceed also against you, but take precautions beforehand; for, by assisting us, you protect yourself. A favorable result is generally wont to attend a well-devised plan." Thus they spoke.

158. Gelon was very vehement, speaking as follows: "Men of Greece, holding arrogant language, you have dared to invite me to come to your assistance against the barbarian; and yet you yourselves, when formerly besought you to assist me in attacking a barbarian army when a quarrel was on foot between me and the Car-

thaginians, and when I exhorted you to avenge the death of Doricus,¹ son of Anaxandrides, upon the Ægestæans, and promised that I would join in freeing the ports, from whence great advantages and profits accrued to you, neither for my sake did you come to assist me, nor to avenge the death of Doricus; so that, as far as you are concerned, all this country is subject to barbarians. However, matters turned out well with me, and prospered; and now, when the war has come round and reached you, at length you remember Gelon. But, though I met with disgraceful treatment from you, I shall not imitate your example, but am ready to assist you, furnishing two hundred triremes, twenty thousand heavy-armed troops, two thousand horse, two thousand bowmen, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-horse; I likewise undertake to supply corn for the whole Grecian army until we have finished the war. But I promise these things on this condition, that I shall be general and leader of the Greeks against the barbarian; on no other condition will I come myself or send others.

159. Syagrus, when he heard this, could not contain himself, but spoke as follows: "Agamemnon, the descendant of Pelops, would indeed groan aloud if he heard that the Spartans had been deprived of the supreme command by a Gelon and by Syracusans. Never mention this proposition again, that we should give up the command to you; but if you are willing to succor Greece, know that you must be commanded by Lacedæmonians, or, if you will not deign to be commanded, you need not assist us."

160. Upon this, Gelon, when he observed the indignant language of Syagrus, made this last proposal: "Spartan stranger, reproaches uttered against a man are wont to rouse his indignation; yet, though you have used insulting words in your speech, you have not provoked me to be unseemly in return. Nevertheless, since you are so exceedingly anxious for the supreme command, it is reasonable that I also should

¹ See B. V. chap. 45, 46.

be more anxious for it than you, since I am leader of a far greater army and many more ships. However, since my proposal is so repugnant to you, I will abate something of my first demand. If, then, you choose to command the army, I will command the fleet ; or, if it please you rather to have the command at sea, I will lead the land-forces ; and you must either be content with these terms, or return destitute of such allies."

161. Gelon, then, proposed these terms ; but the ambassador of the Athenians, anticipating that of the Lacedæmonians, answered him in these words : " King of the Syracusans, the Grecians sent us to you, not to ask for a general, but an army. You declare that you will not send an army unless you have the command of Greece, and you are anxious to be made general of it : as long as you required to command all the forces of the Grecians, we Athenians were contented to remain silent, as we knew that the Spartan would be sufficient to answer for us both ; but since, being excluded from the whole command, you require to govern the navy, the matter stands thus. Even if the Lacedæmonians should allow you to govern it, we shall not allow it, for that is ours, unless the Lacedæmonians wish to take it themselves. If they, indeed, wish to have the command, we shall not oppose them, but we will never cede to any one else the command of the navy ; for in vain should we possess the greatest naval power of the Greeks, if, we, being Athenians, should yield the command to the Syracusans, we who are the most ancient nation, and the only people of the Greeks who have never changed their country ; from whom also Homer, the epic poet, said, the best man went to Troy, both for arraying and marshalling an army, so that it is no disgrace to us to speak as we do."

162. To this Gelon answered, " Athenian stranger, you seem to have commanders, but as if you would not have men to be commanded. Since, therefore, you are resolved to concede nothing, but to retain the whole power, you cannot be too quick in returning back again, and informing Greece that the spring of the year has been taken from her." The meaning of this

saying is, which he wished to intimate, that as the spring is evidently the most valuable season in the year, so of the army of the Grecians his was the best: Greece, therefore, deprived of his alliance, he compared to a year from which the spring should be taken away.

163. The ambassadors of the Greeks, having thus negotiated with Gelon, sailed away; but Gelon, upon this, fearing for the Grecians, that they would not be able to withstand the barbarian, but deeming it an intolerable disgrace that he who was tyrant of Sicily should go to Peloponnesus, and be subject to the Lacedæmonians, gave up all thoughts of that course and adopted another. As soon as he was informed that the Persian had crossed the Hellespont, he despatched Cadmus, son of Scythes, a Coan, to Delphi, with three penteconters, taking with him much treasure and friendly messages, for the purpose of watching the contest, in what way it would terminate; and if the barbarian should conquer, he was to present him with the treasure, and earth and water for the countries which Gelon ruled over; but if the Greeks *should be victorious*, he was to bring back *the treasure*.

164. This Cadmus, having before these events received from his father the sovereignty of the Coans, firmly established, of his own accord, when no danger threatened him, but from a sense of justice, surrendered the government into the hands of the Coans, and retired into Sicily; there, with the Samians he possessed and inhabited the city of Zancle, which, changed its name to Messina. This Cadmus, therefore, who had in this manner come *to Sicily*, Gelon sent, on account of other proofs which he had of his uprightness; and he, in addition to other instances of uprightness that had been given by him, left this not the least *monument* of them; for having in his possession vast treasures, which Gelon had intrusted to him, when it was in his power to appropriate them, he would not; but when the Greeks conquered in the sea-fight, and Xerxes had retired, he also returned to Sicily, and took back all the treasures.

165. However, the following account is given by those

who inhabit Sicily, that Gelon, notwithstanding that he must be governed by the Lacedæmonians, would have assisted the Greeks, had not Terillus, son of Crinippus, who was tyrant of Himera, being expelled from Himera by Theron, son of Ænesidemus, king of the Agrigentines, at that time brought in an army of three hundred thousand men, consisting of Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyans, Elisycians, Sardinians, and Cynrians, under the conduct of Amilcar, son of Hanno, king of the Carthaginians. Terillus persuaded him by the hospitality which existed between them, and especially by the zeal of Anaxilaus, son of Critines, who being tyrant of Rhegium, and having given his children as hostages into the hands of Amilcar, induced him to enter Sicily in order to revenge the injury done to his father-in-law; for Anaxilaus had married a daughter of Terillus, whose name was Cydippe. Thus, as Gelon was not able to assist the Greeks, he sent the treasures to Delphi.

166. In addition to this, they say that it happened on the same day that Gelon and Theron conquered Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicily, and the Greeks conquered the Persian at Salamis. I am informed that Amilcar, who was a Carthaginian by his father and a Syracusan by his mother, and chosen king of Carthage for his virtue, when the engagement took place, and he was defeated in battle, vanished out of sight; for he was seen nowhere on the earth, either alive or dead, though Gelon had search made for him everywhere.

167. The following story is also related by the Carthaginians themselves, who endeavor to give a probable account that the barbarians fought with the Grecians in Sicily from the morning till late in the evening, for it is said that the conflict lasted so long; and during this time, Amilcar, continuing in the camp, offered sacrifices, and observed the omens, burning whole victims upon a large pile: and when he saw the defeat of his own army, as he happened to be pouring libations on the victims, he threw himself into the flames, and thus, being burned to ashes, disappeared. But whether Amilcar disappeared in such

manner as the Phœnicians relate, or in another manner, as the Syracusans, the Carthaginians, in the first place, offer sacrifices to him, and in the next, have erected monuments to his memory in all the cities inhabited by colonists, and the most considerable one in Carthage itself. So much for the affairs of Sicily.

168. The Corcyræans, having given the following answer to the ambassadors, acted as I shall relate; for the same ambassadors who went to Sicily invited them to join the league, using the same language to them as they had done to Gelon. They indeed immediately promised to send and give assistance, adding "that they could not look on and see the ruin of Greece, for if it should be overthrown, nothing else would remain for them than to become slaves on the very first day; therefore they would assist to the utmost of their power." Thus speciously they answered; but when they ought to have assisted, with different intentions they manned sixty ships, and having put to sea, after great delays drew near to the Peloponnesus, and anchored about Pylus and Tænarus of the Lacedæmonian territory; they also carefully watched the war, in what way it would terminate, having no expectation that the Grecians would get the better, but thinking that the Persian, having gained a decided superiority, would become master of all Greece. They therefore acted thus purposely, in order that they might be able to say to the Persian, "O king, when the Greeks invited us to take part in the war, we, who have a considerable force, and were able to supply not the least number of ships, but the greatest number, next to the Athenians, would not oppose you, nor do anything displeasing to you." By saying this they hoped to get better terms than the rest, which would have been the case, as appears to me; and toward the Greeks their excuse was ready prepared, which indeed they did make use of; for when the Greeks accused them of not having sent assistance, they said "that they had manned sixty ships, but were unable to double Malea by reason of the Etesian winds; and so they could not reach Salamis, and were absent from the sea-fight

from no bad motive." In this manner they attempted to elude the charge of the Greeks.

169. The Cretans, when those Greeks who were appointed for that purpose invited them to join the league, acted as follows. Having sent, in the name of the commonwealth, persons to consult the oracle at Delphi, they inquired of the god whether it would be for their advantage to assist Greece. The Pythian answered, "Fools, you complain of all the woes which Minos in his anger sent you for aiding Menelaus, because they would not assist you in avenging his death at Camicus, and yet you assisted them *in avenging* a woman who was carried off from Sparta by a barbarian." When the Cretans heard this answer reported, they refrained from sending assistance.

170. For it is said that Minos, having come to Sicania, which is now called Sicily, in search of Dædalus, met with a violent death ; that after some time the Cretans, at the instigation of a deity, all except the Polichnitæ and the Præsiens, went with a large force to Sicania, and during five years besieged the city of Camicus, which in my time the Agrigentines possessed ; and at last, not being able either to take it or to continue the siege, because they were oppressed by famine, they abandoned it and went away ; and when they were sailing along the coast of Iapygia, a violent storm overtook them, and drove them ashore ; and as their ships were broken to pieces, and there appeared no means of their returning to Crete, they thereupon founded the city of Hyria, and settled there, changing their name from Cretans to Messapian Iapygians, and becoming, instead of islanders, inhabitants of the continent. From the city of Hyria they founded other cities, which a long time after the Tarentines endeavoring to destroy, signally failed ; so that this was the greatest Grecian slaughter of all that we know of, both of the Tarentines themselves, and of the Rhegians, who, being compelled by Miccythus, son of Choerus, and coming to assist the Tarentines, thus perished to the number of three thousand ; but of the Tarentines themselves no number was given. This Miccythus was a servant of Anaxilaus, and

had been left in charge of Rhegium. He is the same person that was expelled from Rhegium, and who, having settled in Tegea, a city of Arcadia, dedicated the many statues in Olympia.

171. These events relating to the Rhegians and Tarentines are a digression from my history. To Crete, then, destitute of inhabitants, as the Præsiens say, other men, and especially the Grecians, went, and settled there; and in the third generation after the death of Minos, the Trojan war took place, in which the Cretans proved themselves not the worst avengers of Menelaus: as a punishment for this, when they returned from Troy, famine and pestilence fell both on themselves and their cattle; so that Crete being a second time depopulated, the Cretans are the third people who, with those that were left, now inhabit it. The Pythian, therefore, putting them in mind of these things, checked them in their desire to assist the Grecians.

172. The Thessalians at first sided with the Mede from necessity, as they showed, in that the intrigues of the Aleuadæ¹ did not please them; for as soon as they were informed that the Persian was about to cross over into Europe, they sent ambassadors to the Isthmus; and at the Isthmus deputies from Greece were assembled, chosen from those cities that were better disposed toward Greece. The ambassadors of the Thessalians, having come to them, said, "Men of Greece, it is necessary to guard the pass of Olympus, that Thessaly and all Greece may be sheltered from the war. Now we are ready to assist in guarding it, but you must also send a large army; for if you will not send, be assured we shall come to terms with the Persian; for it is not right that we, who are situated so far in advance of the rest of Greece, should perish alone in your defense. If you will not assist us you cannot impose any obligation upon us; for obligation was ever inferior to inability; and we must ourselves endeavor to contrive some means of safety."

173. Thus spoke the Thessalians; and the Grecians

¹ See chap. 6 and 130.

thereupon resolved to send an army by sea to Thessaly, to guard the pass; and when the army was assembled, it sailed through the Euripus, and having arrived at Alus of Achaia, disembarked, and marched to Thessaly, having left the ships there, and arrived at Tempe, at the pass that leads from the lower Macedonia into Thessaly, by the river Peneus, between Mount Olympus and Ossa. There heavy-armed troops of the Grecians, being assembled together to the number of ten thousand, encamped, and to them was added the cavalry of the Thessalians. The Lacedæmonians were commanded by Euænetus, son of Carenus, chosen from among the Polemarchs, though not of the royal race, and the Athenians *were commanded by* Themistocles, son of Neocles. There they remained but a few days; for messengers coming from Alexander, son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, advised them to retire, and not to stay in the pass and be trampled under foot by the invading army, describing the numbers of the army and the ships. When the messengers gave this advice, as the Grecians conceived the advice to be good, and the Macedonian was evidently well-disposed to them, they determined to follow it; but, in my opinion, it was fear that persuaded them, when they heard that there was another pass into Thessaly and Upper Macedonia, through the country of the Perrhæbi, near the city of Gonnus; by which, indeed, the army of Xerxes did enter. The Grecians, therefore, going down to their ships, went back again to the Isthmus.

174. This expedition into Thessaly took place while the king was about to cross over from Asia into Europe, and was still at Abydos; but the Thessalians, being abandoned by their allies, then readily took part with the Medes, and with no farther hesitation, so much so, that in emergency they proved most useful to the king.

175. The Greeks, when they arrived at the Isthmus, consulted on the message they had received from Alexander, in what way and in what places they should prosecute the war. The opinion which prevailed was, that they should defend the pass at Thermopylæ; for it appeared to be narrower than that into Thessaly, and at

the same time nearer to their own territories; for the path by which the Greeks who were taken at Thermopylæ were afterward surprised, they knew nothing of, till, on their arrival at Thermopylæ, they were informed of it by the Trachinians. They accordingly resolved to guard this pass, and not suffer the barbarian to enter Greece; and that the naval force should sail to Artemisium, in the territory of Histiaëotis, for these places are near one another, so that they could hear what happened to each other. These spots are thus situated.

176. In the first place, Artemisium is contracted from a wide space of the Thracian sea into a narrow frith, which lies between the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. From the narrow frith begins the coast of Eubœa, called Artemisium, and in it is a temple of Diana. But the entrance into Greece through Trachis, in the narrowest part, is no more than a half plethrum in width; however, the narrowest part of the country is not in this spot, but before and behind Thermopylæ; for near Alpeni, which is behind, there is only a single carriage-road, and before, by the river Phoenix, near the city of Anthela, is another single carriage-road. On the western side of Thermopylæ is an inaccessible and precipitous mountain, stretching to Mount Eta, and on the eastern side of the way is the sea and a morass. In this passage there are hot baths, which the inhabitants call Chytri, and above these is an altar to Hercules. A wall had been built in this pass, and formerly there were gates in it. The Phocæans built it through fear, when the Thessalians came from Thesprotia to settle in the Æolian territory which they now possess: apprehending that the Thessalians would attempt to subdue them, the Phocæans took this precaution; at the same time, they diverted the hot water into the entrance, that the place might be broken into clefts, having recourse to every contrivance to prevent the Thessalians from making inroads into their country. Now this old wall had been built a long time, and the greater part of it had already fallen through age; but they determined to rebuild it, and in that place to repel the barbarian from Greece. Very near this road there

is a village called Alpeni ; from this the Greeks expected to obtain provisions.

177. Accordingly, these situations appeared suitable for the Greeks ; for they, having weighed everything beforehand, and considered that the barbarians would neither be able to use their numbers nor their cavalry, there resolved to await the invader of Greece. As soon as they were informed that the Persian was in Pieria, breaking up from the Isthmus, some of them proceeded by land to Thermopylæ, and others by sea to Artemisium.

178. The Greeks, therefore, being appointed in two divisions, hastened to meet the enemy ; but, at the same time, the Delphians, alarmed for themselves and for Greece, consulted the oracle, and the answer given them was, “ that they should pray to the winds, for that they would be powerful allies to Greece.” The Delphians, having received the oracle, first of all communicated the answer to those Greeks who were zealous to be free ; and as they very much dreaded the barbarians, by giving that message they acquired a claim to everlasting gratitude. After that, the Delphians erected an altar to the winds at Thyia, where there is an inclosure consecrated to Thyia, daughter of Cephissus, from whom this district derives its name, and conciliated them with sacrifices ; and the Delphians, in obedience to that oracle, to this day propitiate the winds.

179. The naval force of Xerxes, setting out from the city of Therma, advanced with ten of the fastest sailing ships straight to Scyathus, where were three Grecian ships keeping a look-out, a Træzenian, an Ægine-tan, and an Athenian. These, seeing the ships of the barbarians at a distance, betook themselves to flight.

180. The Træzenian ship, which Praxinus commanded, the barbarians pursued and soon captured ; and then, having led the handsomest of the marines to the prow of the ship, they slew him, deeming it a good omen that the first Greek they had taken was also very handsome. The name of the man that was slain was Leon, and perhaps he in some measure reaped the fruits of his name.

181. The Æginetan ship, which Asonides commanded, gave them some trouble, Pytheas, son of Ischenous, being a marine on board, a man who on this day displayed the most consummate valor; who, when the ship was taken, continued fighting until he was entirely cut to pieces. But when, having fallen, he was not dead, but still breathed, the Persians who served on board the ships were very anxious to save him alive, on account of his valor, healing his wounds with myrrh, and binding them with bandages of flaxen cloth; and when they returned to their own camp, they showed him with admiration to the whole army, and treated him well; but the others, whom they took in this ship, they treated as slaves.

182. Thus, then, two of the ships were taken; but the other, which Phormous, an Athenian, commanded, in its flight ran ashore at the mouth of the Peneus, and the barbarians got possession of the ship, but not of the men; for as soon as the Athenians had run the ship aground, they leaped out, and, proceeding through Thessaly, reached Athens. The Greeks who were stationed at Artemisium were informed of this event by signal-fires from Sciathus; and being informed of it, and very much alarmed, they retired from Artemisium to Chalcis, intending to defend the Euripus, and leaving scouts on the heights of Eubœa.

183. Of the ten barbarian ships, three approached the sunken rock called Myrmex, between Sciathus and Magnesia. Then the barbarians, when they had erected on the rock a stone column, which they had brought with them, set out from Therma, now that every obstacle had been removed, and sailed forward with all their ships, having waited eleven days after the king's departure from Therma. Pammon, a Scyrian, pointed out to them this hidden rock, which was almost directly in their course. The barbarians, sailing all day, reached Sepias in Magnesia, and the shore that lies between the city of Casthanæa and the coast of Sepias.

184. As far as this place and Thermopylæ, the army had suffered no loss, and the numbers were at that time, as I find by calculations, of the following

amount: of those in ships from Asia, amounting to one thousand two hundred and seven, originally the whole number of the several nations was two hundred forty-one thousand four hundred men, allowing two hundred to each ship; and on these ships thirty Persians, Medes, and Sacæ served as marines, in addition to the native crews of each; this farther number amounts to thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten. To this and the former number I add those that were on the penteconters, supposing eighty men on the average to be on board of each; but, as I have before said,¹ three thousand of these vessels were assembled; therefore the men on board them must have been two hundred and forty thousand. This, then, was the naval force from Asia, the total being five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten. Of infantry there were seventeen hundred thousand, and of cavalry eighty thousand; to these I add the Arabians who drove camels, and the Libyans who drove chariots, reckoning the number at twenty thousand men. Accordingly, the numbers on board the ships and on the land, added together, make up two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten. This, then, is the force which, as has been mentioned, was assembled from Asia itself, exclusive of the servants that followed, and the provision ships, and the men that were on board them.

185. But the force brought from Europe must still be added to this whole number that has been summed up; but it is necessary to speak by guess. Now the Grecians from Thrace, and the islands contiguous to Thrace, furnished one hundred and twenty ships; these ships give an amount of twenty-four thousand men. Of land-forces, which were furnished by Thracians, Pæonians, the Eordi, the Bottiæans, the Chalcidian race, Brygi, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhæbi, Ænianes, Dolopians, Magnesians, and Achæans, together with those who inhabit the maritime parts of Thrace, of these nations I suppose that there were three hundred thousand men, so that these myriads, added to those

¹ CHAP. 97.

from Asia, make a total of two millions six hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men.

186. I think that the servants who followed them, and with those on board the provision ships and other vessels that sailed with the fleet, were not fewer than the fighting men, but more numerous ; but supposing them to be equal in number with the fighting men, they make up the former number of myriads. Thus Xerxes, son of Darius, led five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men to Sepias and Thermopylæ.

187. This, then, was the number of the whole force of Xerxes. But of women who made bread, and concubines, and eunuchs, no one could mention the number with accuracy ; nor of draught-cattle and other beasts of burden ; nor of Indian dogs that followed could any one mention the number, they were so many ; therefore I am not astonished that the streams of some rivers failed, but rather it is a wonder to me how provisions held out for so many myriads ; for I find by calculation, if each man had a choenix of wheat daily, and no more, one hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni must have been consumed every day ; and I have not reckoned the food for the women, eunuchs, beasts of burden, and dogs. But of so many myriads of men, not one of them, for beauty and stature, was more entitled than Xerxes himself to possess this power.

188. When the fleet, having set out, sailed and reached the shore of Magnesia that lies between the city of Casthanæa and the coast of Sepias, the foremost of the ships took up their station close to land, others behind rode at anchor (the beach not being extensive enough), with their prows toward the sea, and eight deep. Thus they passed the night ; but at daybreak, after serene and tranquil weather, the sea began to swell, and a heavy storm, with a violent gale from the east which those who inhabit these parts call a Hellespontine, burst upon them ; as many of them, then, as perceived the gale increasing, and who were able to do so from their position, anticipated the storm by hauling

their ships on shore, and both they and their ships escaped. But such of the ships as the storm caught at sea it carried away, some to the parts called Ipni, near Pelion, others to the beach; some were dashed on Cape Sepias itself; some were wrecked at Melibœa, and others at Casthanæa. The storm was indeed irresistible.

189. A story is told that the Athenians invoked Boreas, in obedience to an oracle, another response having come to them "that they should call their son-in-law to their assistance." But Boreas, according to the account of the Greeks, married a woman of Attica, Orithyia, daughter to Erectheus. On account of this marriage, the Athenians, as the report goes, conjecturing that Boreas was their son-in-law, and having stationed their fleet at Chalcis of Eubœa, when they saw the storm increasing, or even before, offered sacrifices to and invoked Boreas and Orithyia, *praying* that they would assist them, and destroy the ships of the barbarians, as they had done before at Mount Athos. Whether, indeed, the north wind in consequence of this fell upon the barbarians as they rode at anchor, I cannot undertake to say; however, the Athenians say that Boreas, having assisted them before, then also produced this effect, and on their return they erected a temple to Boreas near the river Ilissus.

190. In this disaster, those who give the lowest account say that not fewer than four hundred ships perished, and innumerable lives, and an infinite quantity of treasure; so that this wreck of the fleet proved a source of great profit to Aminocles, son of Cretinus, a Magnesian, who possessed land about Sepias; he some time afterward picked up many golden cups that had been driven ashore, and many silver ones; he also found treasures belonging to the Persians, and gained an unspeakable quantity of other golden articles. He then, though in other respects unfortunate, became very rich by what he found; for a sad calamity, which occasioned the death of his son,¹ gave him great affliction.

¹ Παιδοφόνος is by others understood to imply "that he killed his own son." I have followed Baehr.

191. The provision ships and other vessels destroyed were beyond number, so that the commanders of the naval force, fearing lest the Thessalians should attack them in their shattered condition, threw up a high rampart from the wrecks; for the storm lasted three days. But at length the magi, having sacrificed victims, and endeavored to charm the winds by incantations, and, moreover, having offered sacrifices to Thetis and the Nereids, laid the storm on the fourth day, or perhaps it abated of its own accord. They sacrificed to Thetis, having heard from the Ionians the story that she had been carried off from this country by Peleus, and that all the coast of Sepiās belonged to her and the other Nereids. Accordingly, the wind was lulled on the fourth day.

192. The scouts on the heights of Eubœa, running down on the second day after the storm first began, acquainted the Greeks with all that had occurred with respect to the wreck of the fleet. They, when they heard it, having offered up vows and poured out libations to Neptune the Deliverer, immediately hastened back to Artemisium, hoping that there would be only some few ships to oppose them. Thus they, coming there a second time, took up their station at Artemisium, and from that time to the present have given to Neptune the surname of the Deliverer.

193. The barbarians, when the wind had lulled and the waves had subsided, having hauled down their ships, sailed along the continent; and having doubled the promontory of Magnesia, stood directly into the bay leading to Pagasæ. There is a spot in this bay of Magnesia where it is said Hercules was abandoned by Jason and his companions when he had been sent from the Argo for water, as they were sailing to Asia in Colchis for the golden fleece; for from thence they purposed to put out to sea after they had taken in water: from this circumstance, the name of Aphetæ was given to the place. In this place, then, the fleet of Xerxes took up its moorings.

194. Fifteen of these ships happened to be driven out to sea some time after the rest, and somehow saw the

ships of the Greeks at Artemisium; the barbarians thought that they were their own, and sailing on, fell in among their enemies. They were commanded by Sandoces, son of Thaumasius, governor of Cyme, of Æolia. He, being one of the royal judges, had been formerly condemned by king Darius, who had detected him in the following offence, to be crucified. Sandoces gave an unjust sentence for a bribe; but while he was actually hanging on the cross, Darius, considering with himself, found that the services he had done to the royal family were greater than his faults; Darius, therefore, having discovered this, and perceiving that he himself had acted with more expedition than wisdom, released him. Having thus escaped being put to death by Darius, he survived; but now, sailing down among the Grecians, he was not to escape a second time; for when the Greeks saw them sailing toward them, perceiving the mistake they had committed, they bore down upon them and easily took them.

195. In one of these, Aridolis, tyrant of the Alibandians, in Caria, was taken; and in another, the Paphian commander, Penthylus, son of Demonous. He brought twelve ships from Paphos; but having lost eleven in the storm that took place off Sepias, he was taken with the one that escaped, as he was sailing to Artemisium. The Grecians, having learned by inquiry what they wished to know respecting the forces of Xerxes, sent these men away bound to the isthmus of the Corinthians.

196. Accordingly, the naval force of the barbarians, with the exception of the fifteen ships which I have mentioned Sandoces commanded, arrived at Aphetæ. But Xerxes and the land-forces, marching through Thessaly and Achaia, had entered on the third day into the territories of the Mælians. In Thessaly he made a match with his own horses for the purpose of trying the Thessalian cavalry, having heard that it was the best of all Greece; and on that occasion the Grecian horses proved very inferior. Of the rivers in Thessaly, the Onochonus alone did not supply a sufficient stream for the army to drink; but of the rivers that flow in

Achaia, even the largest of them, the Epidanus, scarcely held out.

197. When Xerxes arrived at Alos in Achaia, the guides, wishing to tell everything, related to him the tradition of the country concerning the temple of Laphystian Jupiter; how Athamas, son of Æolus, conspiring with Ino, planned the death of Phryxus; and then, how the Achæans, in obedience to an oracle, imposed the following penalty on his descendants. Whoever is the eldest person of this race, having ordered him to be excluded from the prytaneum, they themselves keep watch; the Achæans call the prytaneum *Leitum*; and if he should enter, he cannot possibly go out again except in order to be sacrificed; and how, moreover, many of those who were on the point of being sacrificed, through fear, went away and fled the country; but in process of time having returned back again, if they were taken entering the prytaneum, they related how such an one, being covered with sacred fillets, is sacrificed, and how conducted with great pomp. The descendants of Cytissorus, son of Phryxus, are liable to this punishment; because, when the Achaians, in obedience to an oracle, were about to make an expiation for their country by the sacrifice of Athamas, son of Æolus, Cytissorus, arriving from Aia of Colchis, rescued him, and having done so, drew down the anger of the gods upon his descendants. Xerxes having heard this, when he came to the grove, both abstained from entering it himself, and commanded all the army to do the same, and he showed the same respect to the dwelling of the descendants of Athamas as he did to the sacred precinct.

198. These things occurred in Thessaly and in Achaia. From these countries Xerxes advanced to Malis, near a bay of the sea in which an ebb and flow takes place every day. About this bay lies a plain country, in one part wide, and in the other very narrow, and around it high and impassable mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, inclose the whole Malian territory. The first city in the bay, as one comes from Achaia, is Anticyra, by which the river Sperchius, flowing from the country

of the Ænians, falls into the sea; and from thence about twenty stades is another river, to which the name of Dyras is given, which, it is said, rose up to assist Hercules when he was burning. From this, at a distance of another twenty stades, is another river, which is called Melas.

199. The city of Trachis is distant five stades from this river Melas, and in this part where Trachis is built is the widest space of all this country from the mountains to the sea, for there are twenty-two thousand plethra of plain. In this mountain, which incloses the Trachinian territory, there is a ravine to the south of Trachis, and through the ravine the river Asopus flows by the base of the mountain.

200. To the south of the Asopus is another river, the Phoenix, not large, which, flowing from these mountains, falls into the Asopus. At the river Phoenix it is the narrowest, for only a single carriage-road has been constructed there. From the river Phoenix it is fifteen stades to Thermopylæ, and between the river Phoenix and Thermopylæ is a village, the name of which is Anthela, by which the Asopus flowing falls into the sea: the country about it is wide, and in it is situated a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, and there are the seats of the Amphictyons and a temple of Amphictyon himself.

201. King Xerxes, then, encamped in the Trachinian territory of Malis, and the Greeks in the pass. This spot is called by most of the Greeks Thermopylæ, but by the inhabitants and neighbors Pylæ. Both parties, then, encamped in these places. The one was in possession of all the parts toward the north as far as Trachis, and the others of the parts which stretch toward the south and meridian on this continent.

202. The following were the Greeks who awaited the Persian in this position. Of Spartans, three hundred heavy-armed men; of Tegeans and Mantineans, one thousand, half of each; from Orchomenus in Arcadia, one hundred and twenty; and from the rest of Arcadia, one thousand—there were so many Arcadians; from Corinth, four hundred; from Phlius, two hun-

dred men; and from Mycenæ, eighty. These came from Peloponnesus. From Bœotia, of Thespians seven hundred, and of Thebans four hundred.

203. In addition to these, the Opuntian Locrians, being invited, came with all their forces, and a thousand Phocians; for the Greeks themselves had invited them, representing by their ambassadors that "they had arrived as forerunners of the others, and that the rest of the allies might be daily expected; that the sea was protected by them, being guarded by the Athenians, the Æginetæ, and others, who were appointed to the naval service; and that they had nothing to fear, for that it was not a god who invaded Greece, but a man; and that there never was, and never would be, any mortal who had not evil mixed with *his prosperity* from his very birth, and to the greatest of them the greatest *reverses happen*; that it must therefore needs be that he who is marching against us, being a mortal, will be disappointed in his expectation." They, having heard this, marched with assistance to Trachis.

204. These nations had separate generals for their several cities, but the one most admired, and who commanded the whole army, was a Lacedæmonian, Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, son of Eurycratides, son of Anaxander, son of Eurycates, son of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, son of Archelaus, son of Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Leobotes, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, son of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus, son of Hyllus, son of Hercules, who had unexpectedly succeeded to the throne of Sparta.

205. For, as he had two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he was far from any thought of the kingdom. However, Cleomenes having died without male issue and Dorieus being no longer alive, having ended his days in Sicily,¹ the kingdom thus devolved upon Leonidas; both because he was older than Cleombrotus (for he was the youngest son of Anaxandrides), and also because he had married the daughter of Cleomenes.

¹ B. V. chap. 42-45.

He then marched to Thermopylæ, having chosen the three hundred men allowed by law,¹ and such as had children. On his march he took with him the Thebans, whose numbers I have already reckoned,² and whom Leontiades, son of Eurymachus, commanded. For this reason Leonidas was anxious to take with him the Thebans alone of all the Greeks, because they were strongly accused of favoring the Medes: he therefore summoned them to the war, wishing to know whether they would send their forces with him, or would openly renounce the alliance of the Grecians; but they though otherwise minded, sent assistance.

206. The Spartans sent these troops first with Leonidas, in order that the rest of the allies, seeing them, might take the field and might not go over to the Medes if they heard that they were delaying; but afterward, for the Carnean festival was then an obstacle to them, they purposed, when they had kept the feast, to leave a garrison in Sparta, and to march immediately with their whole strength. The rest of the confederates likewise intended to act in the same manner; for the Olympic games occurred at the same period as these events. As they did not, therefore, suppose that the engagement at Thermopylæ would so soon be decided, they despatched an advance guard. Thus, then, they intended to do.

207. The Greeks at Thermopylæ, when the Persian came near the pass, being alarmed, consulted about a retreat; accordingly, it seemed best to the other Peloponnesians to retire to Peloponnesus, and guard the Isthmus; but Leonidas, perceiving the Phocians and Locrians very indignant at this proposition, determined to stay there, and to despatch messengers to the cities, desiring them to come to their assistance, as being too few to repel the army of the Medes.

208. While they were deliberating on these matters, Xerxes sent a scout on horseback, to see how many they were, and what they were doing; for while he

¹ For the various methods of rendering τοὺς κατεστέωτας, see Baehr's note and Cary's Lexicon.

² Chap. 202.

was still in Thessaly, he had heard that a small army had been assembled at that spot, and as to their leaders, that they were Lacedæmonians, and Leonidas, who was of the race of Hercules. When the horseman rode up to the camp, he reconnoitred, and saw not indeed the whole camp, for it was not possible that they should be seen who were posted within the wall, which, having rebuilt, they were now guarding; but he had a clear view of those on the outside, whose arms were piled in front of the wall. At this time the Lacedæmonians happened to be posted outside; and some of the men he saw performing gymnastic exercises, and others combing their hair. On beholding this he was astonished, and ascertained their number; and having informed himself of everything accurately, he rode back at his leisure, for no one pursued him, and he met with general contempt. On his return he gave an account to Xerxes of all that he had seen.

209. When Xerxes heard this, he could not comprehend the truth that the Grecians were preparing to be slain and to slay to the utmost of their power; but, as they appeared to behave in a ridiculous manner, he sent for Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was then in the camp; and when he was come into his presence, Xerxes questioned him as to each particular, wishing to understand what the Lacedæmonians were doing. Demaratus said, "You before heard me, when we were setting out against Greece, speak of these men; and when you heard, you treated me with ridicule, though I told you in what way I foresaw these matters would issue; for it is my chief aim, O king, to adhere to the truth in your presence; hear it, therefore, once more. These men have to fight with us for the pass, and are now preparing themselves to do so, for such is their custom, when they are going to hazard their lives, then they dress their heads; but be assured, if you conquer these men, and those that remain in Sparta, there is no other nation in the world that will dare to raise their hand against you, O king; for you are now to engage with the noblest kingdom and city of all among the Greeks, and with the most valiant men." What was

said seemed very incredible to Xerxes, and he asked again "how, being so few in number, they could contend with his army." He answered, "O king, deal with me as with a liar if these things do not turn out as I say."

210. By saying this he did not convince Xerxes. He therefore let four days pass, constantly expecting that they would betake themselves to flight; but on the fifth day, as they had not retreated, but appeared to him to stay through arrogance and rashness, he, being enraged, sent the Medes and Cissians against them, with orders to take them alive, and bring them into his presence. When the Medes bore down impetuously upon the Greeks, many of them fell; others followed to the charge, and were not repulsed, though they suffered greatly; but they made it evident to every one, and not least of all to the king himself, that they were indeed many men, but few soldiers. The engagement lasted through the day.

211. When the Medes were roughly handled, they thereupon retired; and the Persians whom the king called "Immortal," and whom Hydarnes commanded, taking their place, advanced to the attack, thinking that they indeed should easily settle the business; but when they engaged with the Grecians, they succeeded no better than the Medic troops, but just the same, as they fought in a narrow space, and used shorter spears than the Greeks, and were unable to avail themselves of their numbers. The Lacedæmonians fought memorably both in other respects showing that they knew how to fight with men who knew not, and whenever they turned their backs, they retreated in close order; but the barbarians seeing them retreat, followed with a shout and clamor; then they, being overtaken, wheeled round so as to front the barbarians, and having faced about, overthrew an inconceivable number of the Persians; and then some few of the Spartans themselves fell; so that when the Persians were unable to gain anything in their attempt on the pass, by attacking in troops and in every possible manner, they retired.

212. It is said that during these onsets of the battle,

the king, who witnessed them, thrice sprang from his throne, being alarmed for his army. Thus they strove at that time. On the following day the barbarians fought with no better success; for considering that the Greeks were few in number, and expecting that they were covered with wounds, and would not be able to raise their heads against them any more, they renewed the contest. But the Greeks were marshalled in companies and according to their several nations, and each fought in turn, except only the Phocians; they were stationed at the mountain to guard the pathway. When, therefore, the Persians found nothing different from what they had seen on the preceding day, they retired.

213. While the king was in doubt what course to take in the present state of affairs, Ephialtes, son of Eurydemus, a Malian, obtained an audience¹ of him, expecting that he should receive a great reward from the king, and informed him of the path which leads over the mountain to Thermopylæ, and by that means caused the destruction of those Greeks who were stationed there; but afterward, fearing the Lacedæmonians, he fled to Thessaly; and when he had fled, a price was set on his head by the Pylagori, when the Amphictyons were assembled at Pylæ; but some time after, he went down to Anticyra, and was killed by Athenades, a Trachinian. This Athenades killed him for another reason, which I shall mention in a subsequent part of my history;² he was, however, rewarded none the less by the Lacedæmonians.

214. Another account is given, that Onetes, son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydallus of Anticyra, were the persons who gave this information to the king, and conducted the Persians round the mountain; but to me this is by no means credible; for, in the first place, we may draw that inference from this circumstance, that the Pylagori of the Grecians set a price on the head, not of Onetes and Corydallus, but of Ephial-

¹ Literally, "came to speak with him."

² The promised reward is nowhere given in any extant writings of the historian.

tes the Trachinian, having surely ascertained the exact truth; and, in the next place, we know that Ephialtes fled on that account. Onetes, indeed, though he was not a Malian, might be acquainted with this path, if he had been much conversant with the country; but it was Ephialtes who conducted them round the mountain by the path, and I charge him as the guilty person.

215. Xerxes, since he was pleased with what Ephialtes promised to perform, being exceedingly delighted, immediately despatched Hydarnes and the troops that Hydarnes commanded; and he started from the camp about the hour of lamp-lighting. The native Malians discovered this pathway, and, having discovered it, conducted the Thessalians by it against the Phocians at the time when the Phocians, having fortified the pass by a wall, were under shelter from an attack. From that time it appeared to have been of no service to the Malians.

216. This path is situated as follows: it begins from the river Asopus, which flows through the cleft; the same name is given both to the mountain and to the path, Anopæa: and this Anopæa extends along the ridge of the mountain, and ends near Alpenus, which is the first city of the Locrians toward the Malians, and by the rock called Melampygos, and by the seats of the Cercopes; and there the path is the narrowest.

217. Along this path, thus situate, the Persians, having crossed the Asopus, marched all night, having on their right the mountains of the Cætæans, and on their left those of the Trachinians: morning appeared, and they were on the summit of the mountain. At this part of the mountain, as I have already mentioned, a thousand heavy-armed Phocians kept guard, to defend their own country, and to secure the pathway; for the lower pass was guarded by those before mentioned; and the Phocians had voluntarily promised Leonidas to guard the path across the mountain.

218. The Phocians discovered them after they had ascended in the following manner; for the Persian ascended without being observed, as the whole mountain was covered with oaks; there was a perfect calm, and,

as was likely, a considerable rustling taking place from the leaves strewn under foot, the Phocians sprung up and put on their arms, and immediately the barbarians made their appearance. But when they saw men clad in armor they were astonished; for, expecting to find nothing to oppose them, they fell in with an army; thereupon Hydarnes, fearing lest the Phocians might be Lacedæmonians, asked Ephialtes of what nation the troops were; and being accurately informed, he drew up the Persians for battle. The Phocians, when they were hit by many and thick-falling arrows, fled to the summit of the mountain, supposing that they had come expressly to attack them, and prepared to perish. Such was their determination. But the Persians, with Ephialtes and Hydarnes, took no notice of the Phocians, but marched down the mountain with all speed.

219. To those of the Greeks who were at Thermopylæ, the augur Megistias, having inspected the sacrifices, first made known the death that would befall them in the morning; certain deserters afterward came and brought intelligence of the circuit the Persians were taking; these brought the news while it was yet night; and, thirdly, the scouts running down from the heights, as soon as day dawned, *brought the same intelligence*. Upon this the Greeks held a consultation, and their opinions were divided; for some would not hear of abandoning their post, and others opposed that view. After this, when the assembly broke up, some of them departed, and being dispersed, betook themselves to their several cities; but others of them prepared to remain there with Leonidas.

220. It is said that Leonidas himself sent them away, being anxious that they should not perish; but that he and the Spartans who were there could not honorably desert the post which they originally came to defend. For my own part, I am rather inclined to think that Leonidas, when he perceived that the allies were averse and unwilling to share the danger with him, bade them withdraw, but that he considered it dishonorable for himself to depart: on the other hand, by remaining there, great renown would be left for him, and the

prosperity of Sparta would not be obliterated ; for it had been announced to the Spartans by the Pythian, when they consulted the oracle concerning this war, as soon as it commenced, "that either Lacedæmon must be overthrown by the barbarians, or their king perish." This answer she gave in hexameter verses to this effect : "To you, O inhabitants of spacious Lacedæmon, either your vast, glorious city shall be destroyed by men sprung from Perseus, or, if not so, the confines of Lacedæmon mourn a king deceased of the race of Hercules. For neither shall the strength of bulls nor of lions withstand him¹ with force opposed to force, for he has the strength of Jove, and I say he shall not be restrained before he has certainly obtained one of these for his share." I think, therefore, that Leonidas, considering these things, and being desirous to acquire glory for the Spartans alone, sent away the allies, rather than that those who went away differed in opinion, and went away in such an unbecoming manner.

221. The following in no small degree strengthens my conviction² on this point ; for not only *did he send away* the others, but it is certain that Leonidas also sent away the augur who followed the army, Megistias the Acarnanian, who was said to have been originally descended from Melampus, the same who announced from an inspection of the victims what was about to befall them, in order that he might not perish with them. He, however, though dismissed, did not himself depart, but sent away his son, who served with him in the expedition, being his only child.

222. The allies accordingly, that were dismissed, departed, and obeyed Leonidas ; but only the Thespians and the Thebans remained with the Lacedæmonians ; the Thebans, indeed, remained unwillingly, and against their inclination, for Leonidas detained them, treating them as hostages ; but the Thespians willingly, for they refused to go away and abandon Leonidas and those with him, but remained and died with them. Demophilus, son of Diadromas, commanded them.

¹The Persian King.

²"Is not the least proof to me."

223. Xerxes, after he had poured out libations at sunrise, having waited a short time, began his attack about the time of full market, for he had been so instructed by Ephialtes; for the descent from the mountain is more direct, and the distance much shorter, than the circuit and ascent. The barbarians, therefore, with Xerxes, advanced; and the Greeks, with Leonidas, marching out as if for certain death, now advanced much farther than before into the wide part of the defile; for the fortification of the wall had protected them, and they on the preceding days, having taken up their position in the narrow part, there fought; but now engaging outside the narrows, great numbers of the barbarians fell; for the officers of the companies from behind, having scourges, flogged every man, constantly urging them forward; in consequence, many of them, falling into the sea, perished, and many more were trampled alive under foot by one another, and no regard was paid to any that perished; for the Greeks, knowing that death awaited them at the hands of those who were going round the mountain, being desperate, and regardless of their own lives, displayed the utmost possible valor against the barbarians.

224. Already were most of their javelins broken, and they had begun to despatch the Persians with their swords. In this part of the struggle fell Leonidas, fighting valiantly, and with him other eminent Spartans, whose names, seeing they were deserving men, I have ascertained; indeed, I have ascertained the names of the whole three hundred. On the side of the Persians, also, many other eminent men fell on this occasion, and among them two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, born to Darius of Phrataguna, daughter of Artanes; but Artanes was brother to king Darius, and son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames. He, when he gave his daughter to Darius, gave him also all his property, as she was his only child.

225. Accordingly, two brothers of Xerxes fell at this spot, fighting for the body of Leonidas, and there was a violent struggle between the Persians and Lacedæmonians, until at last the Greeks rescued it by their valor,

and four times repulsed the enemy. Thus the contest continued until those with Ephialtes came up. When the Greeks heard that they were approaching, from this time the battle was altered; for they retreated to the narrow part of the way, and passing beyond the wall, came and took up their position on the rising ground, all in a compact body, with the exception of the Thebans. The rising ground is at the entrance where the stone lion now stands to the memory of Leonidas. On this spot, while they defended themselves with swords, such as had them still remaining, and their hand and teeth, the barbarians overwhelmed them with missiles, some of them attacking them in front, and having thrown down the wall, and others surrounding and attacking them on every side.

226. Though the Lacedæmonians and Thespians behaved in this manner, yet Dieneces, a Spartan, is said to have been the bravest man. They relate that he made the following remark before they engaged with the Medes, having heard a Trachinian say that when the barbarians let fly their arrows, they would obscure the sun by the multitude of their shafts, so great were their numbers; but he, not at all alarmed at this, said, holding in contempt the numbers of the Medes, that "their Trachinian friend told them everything to their advantage, since if the Medes obscure the sun, they would then have to fight in the shade, and not in the sun." This, and other sayings of the same kind, they relate that Dieneces the Lacedæmonian left as memorials.

227. Next to him, two Lacedæmonian brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orisiphantus, are said to have distinguished themselves most; and of the Thespians, he obtained the greatest glory whose name was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatides.

228. In honor of the slain, who were buried on the spot where they fell, and of those who died before they who were dismissed by Leonidas went away, the following inscription has been engraved over them: "Four thousand from Peloponnesus once fought on this spot with three hundred myriads." This inscription was made for all; and for the Spartans in particular:

“Stranger, go tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here, obedient to their commands.” This was for the Lacedæmonians; and for the prophet, the following: “This is the monument of the illustrious Megistias, whom once the Medes, having passed the river Sperchius, slew; a prophet who, at the time well knowing the impending fate, would not abandon the leaders of Sparta.” The Amphictyons are the persons who honored them with these inscriptions and columns, with the exception of the inscription to the prophet; that of the prophet Megistias, Simonides, son of Leoprepes, caused to be engraved, from personal friendship.

229. It is said that two of these three hundred, Eurytus and Aristodemus, when it was in the power of both, if they had agreed together, either to return alike safe to Sparta, since they had been dismissed from the camp by Leonidas, and were lying at Alpeni desperately afflicted with a disease of the eyes, or, if they would not return, to have died together with the rest—when it was in their power to do either of these, they could not agree; and being divided in opinion, Eurytus, having heard of the circuit made by the Persians, and having called for and put on his arms, ordered his helot to lead him to the combatants; and when he had led him, the man who led him ran away, but he, rushing into the midst of the throng, perished; but Aristodemus, failing in courage, was left behind. Now if it had happened that Aristodemus alone, being sick, had returned to Sparta, or if both had gone home together, in my opinion the Spartans would not have shown any anger against them; but now, since one of them perished, and the other, who had only the same excuse, refused to die, it was necessary for them to be exceedingly angry with Aristodemus.

230. Some say that Aristodemus thus got safe to Sparta, and on such a pretext; but others, that being sent as a messenger from the army, though he might have arrived while the battle was going on, he would not, but having lingered on the road, survived; while his fellow-messenger, arriving in time for the battle, died.

231. Aristodemus, having returned to Lacedæmon,

met with insults and infamy. He was declared infamous by being treated as follows : not one of the Spartans would either give him fire or converse with him ; and he met with insults, being called Aristodemus the coward. However, in the battle of Plataea, he removed all the disgrace that attached to him.¹

232. It is also said that another of the three hundred, whose name was Pantites, having been sent as a messenger to Thessaly, survived ; and that he, on his return to Sparta, finding himself held in dishonor, hung himself.

233. The Thebans, whom Leontiades commanded, as long as they were with the Greeks, being constrained by necessity, fought against the king's army ; but when they saw the forces of the Persians gaining the upper hand, as the Greeks with Leonidas were hastening to the hill, having separated from them, they held out their hands and went near the barbarians, saying the truest thing they could say, that " they were both on the side of the Medes, and were among the first who gave earth and water to the king, and that they came to Thermopylae from compulsion, and were guiltless of the blow that had been inflicted on the king." So that, by saying this, they saved their lives ; for they had the Thessalians as witnesses to what they said : they were not, however, fortunate in every respect ; for when the barbarians seized them as they came up, some they slew, and the greater number of them, by the command of Xerxes, they branded with the royal mark, beginning with the general, Leontiades, whose son, Eurymachus, some time afterward, the Plataeans slew, when he was commanding four hundred Thebans, and had got possession of the citadel of the Plataeans.

234. Thus the Greeks fought at Thermopylae. And Xerxes, having sent for Demaratus, questioned him, beginning as follows : " Demaratus, you are an honest man : I judge so from experience ; for whatever you said has turned out accordingly. Now tell me how many the rest of the Lacedaemonians may be, and how many of them, or whether all, are such as these in war ?" He answered, " O king, the number of all the

¹ See B. IX. chap. 71.

Lacedæmonians is great, and their cities are many; but I shall inform you of that which you desire to know. In Laconia is Sparta, a city containing about eight thousand men; all these are equal to those who have fought here; the rest of the Lacedæmonians, however, are not equal to these, though brave." To this Xerxes said, "Demaratus, in what way can we conquer these men with the least trouble? come tell me, for you must be acquainted with the course of their counsels since you have been their king."

235. He replied, "O king, since you ask my advice so earnestly, it is right that I should tell you what is best. You should, then, despatch three hundred ships of your naval force to the Laconian coast. Off that coast there lies an island called Cythera, which Chilon, the wisest man among us, said would be more advantageous to the Spartans if sunk to the bottom of the sea than if it remained above the water, always apprehending that some such thing would come from it as I am going to propose; not that he foresaw the arrival of your fleet, but fearing equally every naval force. Sallying from this island, then, let them alarm the Lacedæmonians; and when they have a war of their own near home, they will no longer give you cause to fear, lest they should succor the rest of Greece, while it is being taken by your land-forces. But when the rest of Greece is subdued, the Laconian territory, being left alone, will be feeble. If you will not act in this manner, you may expect that this will happen. There is in Peloponnesus a narrow isthmus; in this place, all the Peloponnesians being combined against you, expect to meet more violent struggles than the past; whereas, if you do as I advise, both this isthmus and the cities will submit to you without a battle."

236. After him spoke Achæmenes, who was brother of Xerxes, and commander of the naval forces, having been present at the conversation, and fearing lest Xerxes might be induced to adopt that plan: "O king, I perceive you listening to the suggestions of a man who envies your prosperity, or would betray your cause; for the Greeks are commonly of that character; they

envy success, and hate superior power. If, therefore, in the present state of our affairs, after four hundred ships have been wrecked, you should detach three hundred more from the fleet to sail round Peloponnesus, our enemies may fight us upon equal terms; but if our fleet is kept together, it becomes invincible, and they will be unable to fight with us at all; moreover, the whole fleet will assist the land-forces, and the land-forces the fleet, by advancing together; but if you separate them, neither will they be useful to you, nor you to them. Having, therefore, ordered your own matters well, resolve to pay no attention to what your enemies are doing, how they will carry on the war, what they will do, or how much their numbers are; for they are able to think about themselves, and we, in like manner, about ourselves; but the Lacedæmonians, if they venture a battle against the Persians, will not cure this one present wound."

237. To this Xerxes answered: "Achæmenes, you appear to me to speak well, and I will act accordingly. But Demaratus said what he thought was best for me, though he is surpassed by you in judgment; for that I will not admit, that Demaratus is not well-disposed to my interests, forming my conclusion from what was before said by him, and from the fact that a citizen envies a fellow-citizen who is prosperous, and hates him in silence; nor, when a citizen asks for advice, will a fellow-citizen suggest what seems to him to be best, unless he has reached a high degree of virtue; such persons, however, are rare. But a friend bears the greatest regard for his friend in prosperity; and, when he asks his advice, gives him the best advice he can. I therefore enjoin all men for the future to abstain from calumny concerning Demaratus, since he is my friend."

238. Xerxes having spoken thus, passed through the dead; and having heard that Leonidas was king and general of the Lacedæmonians, he commanded them to cut off his head, and fix it upon a pole. It is clear to me from many other proofs, and not least of all from this, that king Xerxes was more highly incensed against

Leonidas during his life than against any other man, for otherwise he would never have violated the respect due to his dead body, since the Persians, most of all men with whom I am acquainted, are wont to honor men who are brave in war. They, however, to whom the order was given to do this, did it.

239. But I return to that part of my narration where I before left it incomplete. The Lacedæmonians first had information that the king was preparing to invade Greece, and accordingly they sent to the oracle at Delphi, whereupon the answer was given them which I lately mentioned.¹ But they obtained their information in a remarkable manner; for Demaratus, son of Ariston, being in exile among the Medes, as I conjecture, and appearances support my opinion, was not well affected to the Lacedæmonians. However, it is a question whether he acted as he did from a motive of benevolence or by way of exultation; for when Xerxes had determined to invade Greece, Demaratus, who was then at Susa, and had heard of his intention, communicated it to the Lacedæmonians; but he was unable to make it known by any other means, for there was great danger of being detected; he, therefore, had recourse to the following contrivance. Having taken a folding tablet, he scraped off the wax, and then wrote the king's intention on the wood of the tablet; and having done this, he melted the wax again over the writing, in order that the tablet, being carried with nothing written on it, might occasion him no trouble from the guards upon the road. When it arrived at Sparta, the Lacedæmonians were unable to comprehend it, until, as I am informed, Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes, and wife to Leonidas, made a suggestion, having considered the matter with herself, and bade them scrape off the wax and they would find letters written on the wood. They, having obeyed, found and read the contents, and forwarded them to the rest of the Greeks. These things are reported to have happened in this manner.

¹ Chap. 220.

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